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UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE
WOMAN'S COMMITTEE

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AN INTERPRETATIVE REPORT

APRIL 21, 1917, TO FEBRUARY 27, 1919

By

EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page.
Foreword by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War and Chairman of the Council of National Defense	5
The Woman's Committee	9
Executive office	9
Chairmen of State and Territorial Divisions	9
The Honorary Committee	11
CHAPTER I. Creation of the Committee	13
II. Relationship of Woman's Committee to Federal departments—The Channel Theory	26
III. Relationship of State Divisions to State Councils	33
IV. The answer of the States	47
V. The first task	56
VI. The acid test	64
VII. The Committee's departments of work	74
VIII. Special work	89
IX. Achievements of the State Divisions	98
X. Organization difficulties and adjustments	110
XI. Where the armistice found the Woman's Committee	125
XII. Postarmistice period	132
XIII. Conclusions	143

FOREWORD.

As the tremendous years 1914 to 1918 recede, scholars will begin to sift out the things of real importance and to draw, with certainty, lessons from the events of that epoch. At present the smoke of battle has not cleared away; detachment is not possible while our nerves are still tingling with the sensations which daily tore through them as we read of the swaying battle front, searched casualty lists, or exhausted ourselves in war work in order that we might not be too keenly pained by the tragedies and losses of war itself. For this reason, the history of this war can not be written as yet, but partial narratives and records of great events and great movements can and ought to be written. The philosophic historian of the future will not be controlled by our estimate of the relative importance of these movements, but his judgment of us will be affected by the estimate which we ourselves put upon the things which were happening around us. Whether we fought blindly, impelled by cosmic forces toward world ends, or, on the other hand, did consciously realize a set of true values worth dying for, will not affect the result of the World War, but a determination of that question will be an enlightening item to those who seek to put under life and progress a more substantial foundation than chance. Now is the time when these narratives and records must be written, if they are to be written at all, and it is fortunate to have this book prepared by one of the staff of the committee, while its recital, both of fact and feeling, can be verified by those who have actually worked about the things it details.

The Council of National Defense was created by act of the Congress in 1916. At that time the Congress was not legislating the program of American participation in the World War. The National Defense Act was an orderly, peace-time reorganization of the Regular Army and National Guard of the country. The leisureliness of its view of the situation can perhaps best be shown by the fact that such increase as was provided in the size of the Regular Army (a most modest increase) was to take place in five equal annual installments.

Undoubtedly there were persons in the United States who felt that the United States could not keep out of the war which had then been raging for two years in Europe. The intensity of that struggle

increased; new weapons and modes of warfare were being introduced; economic forces involving the fate of whole populations were more and more pivotal in the contest, and there had already been disclosed in Europe the fact that war now differs both qualitatively and quantitatively from such contests of arms as took place in our own Civil War, or in the Franco-Prussian War in Europe. Every science, art, trade, industry, and capacity of every man, woman, and child in the nations at war in Europe was intensively preempted and devoted to the war. The drama of the war was on the fighting front; the strength of it on the home front. We see this all very clearly now in Gen. Ludendorff's story. It is true he is first a soldier, and his claim that the German breakdown was on the home front and not in the Army might be discounted, were it not for the fact that the story of the battle which raged from the Channel to the Swiss frontier throughout September and October, 1918, bears out his claim.

These facts, less clearly seen in 1916 than now, however, were enough to induce the Congress to include in the National Defense Act provision for the Council of National Defense in order that an emergency would not find us without a central agency to direct the national mobilization back of the fighting army. The early sessions of the Council of National Defense were inspired by the same long-range temper which had moved the Congress to the passage of the act. Its first suggestions involved a series of protracted studies as a basis for working plans, but these were swiftly brushed aside as the resistless march of events brought us face to face with the emergency, and, when it came, it was found that there was no need to stir and stimulate, nor any occasion to educate our people. They, too, realized in an instant that when the country went to war every interest and every person in it went to war. The Council of National Defense was literally submerged by the flood of suggestions and offers of service which came from individuals and associations of people. A wise provision of the law creating the Council of National Defense authorized the formation of subordinate agencies, and great fields of effort were marked out and assigned to committees, upon which were appointed the foremost men and women of the country. Nobody stopped to inquire into the effect of his new task upon his old interests, or whether in the new team he was yoked with an ancient adversary. Beliefs and interests which had separated us into groups were lost sight of in the interest which united us into a nation at war.

The Council of National Defense itself was not an executive body. Its legal function was to consider and advise, and many of the subordinate committees established by it found themselves impatient that they could not execute the plans which they labored so earnestly to perfect. In the long run, however, the wisdom of the law was

shown. The committees became advisers to established executive agencies, and they brought the sort of counsel most needed by the executive without at all inconveniencing the operations of the Government by the introduction of new executive agencies which would have entailed overlapping, duplication, and uncertainty.

Perhaps there was no subject upon which so much pioneering had to be done as the relation which woman should bear to the war. Her traditional part as mother or wife of the soldier was heavy enough, and that she was still to bear and must always bear in such tragedies, but since 1865 woman's place in our civilization had been undergoing a profound change, and in the years immediately preceding 1914 the rate of that change had been greatly accelerated. In both education and industry women occupied a new place. Perhaps 10,000,000 American women were earning their own livelihood in workshop, factory, and office. Household arts, which an earlier generation treated as a part of "making a home," had been transferred to the factories and the workers had followed the arts.

As a consequence of this, there was a more general recognition of the political rights and interests of women, and women had organized themselves into associations to secure in law and in public opinion the recognition which their new contribution to society justified. These societies were of every kind both in object and method. Like all other societies formed for serious purposes, whether by men or by women, they were too much in earnest to be entirely at peace with one another. Perhaps they had less of the restraint of convention and tradition that similar men's societies would have had, because the situation which caused them to be organized was itself so new, and both they and people generally had less experience with the problems which they had set themselves to solve, than with the ancient problems about which men's societies, for the most part, had been organized.

It would have been natural, therefore, to expect several groups of women, with several theories of woman's place in the war, but no such thing happened. The Council of National Defense, with the sanction of the President, appointed the Woman's Committee and asked it "to coordinate the women's preparedness movement." In other action, the Council of National Defense referred to the work of the committee as "women's defense work." But there were no limitations in these phrases. The purpose of the council was that the committee should organize the women of the Nation and the committee went straight ahead, perhaps never reading a second time the resolution of the Council of National Defense by which it was created. With directness and intelligence it did the thing it found to do; it did the things it found necessary to be done; and the strength

of the committee lay in the fact that it understood and sympathized both with the desire and the capacity of American women to serve.

The Chairman of the committee from the beginning was Dr. Anna Howard Shaw—ripened by a long life devoted intensely to the advocacy of great causes; cheered and heartened by recent victories for the greatest cause for which she had fought in her long and unusual life; loved and honored by her sex as their leader, and by men as a citizen combining in a rare degree high qualities of intellect, force of character, and persuasive eloquence in speech. She and her committee wrought a work the like of which has never been seen before, and her reward was to see its success, and then to be caught up as she was engaged in another high and fierce conflict, into which she threw herself when hostilities ceased, in order that this great work might be but a helpful part of a greater thing in the hope and history of mankind.

These pages tell the story of the work of the Woman's Committee; the doubts, hesitancies, fears, and successes, and that future historian who takes this book as raw material for his larger estimate of the currents which run in the affairs of men will find that new as woman was in her industrial and educational relations, she saw their implications and contributed her personal suffering, her personal sympathy, as of old, but added to it the dignified gift of the worker who brings mind and hand to add to the aggregate of the Nation's strength in an emergency which demands that all bring all.

The Woman's Committee was the leader of the women of America. It informed and broadened the minds of women everywhere, and with no thought of propaganda it made an argument by producing results. The Council of National Defense fades out of this work, and the Woman's Committee looms large—and yet larger still is the American woman. We can not tell either the beginning or the end of the great movements which were for a moment centralized here, but there is reassurance and comfort in the unselfishness, the large-mindedness, and effectiveness of the work done, and we may count upon the capacity of women to cooperate, in the mobilization for the tasks of peace which are to come, with a larger confidence because of the success of the work described in these pages.

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War, and
Chairman of the Council of National Defense.

THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE, UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

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Mrs. JOSIAH EVANS COWLES, of Los Angeles, Calif., President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Miss MAUDE WETMORE, of Newport, R. I., Chairman of National League for Women's Service.

Mrs. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, of New York, N. Y., President of National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. ANTOINETTE FUNK, lawyer, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. STANLEY MCCORMICK, of Boston, Mass., Vice President National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. JOSEPH R. LAMAR, of Atlanta, Ga., President of National Society of Colonial Dames.

Miss IDA M. TARBELL, of New York, N. Y., publicist and writer.

Miss AGNES NESTOR, of Chicago, Ill., Vice President International Glove Workers' Union.

Miss HANNAH J. PATTERSON, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Mrs. Bertha C. Gordon, Educational Propaganda.

Miss Helen Atwater, Food Production and Home Economics.

Miss Elizabeth Green, Information.

Miss Mary Winslow, Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies and Health and Recreation.

Mrs. Edmund Shelby, News; succeeded by Mrs. Allene T. Wilkes.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, News.

Miss Ruth Wilson, State Organization.

Mrs. James R. Field, Women in Industry; succeeded by Mrs. Samuel Bannister Harding.

Miss Caroline I. Reilley, Secretary to the Chairman of Committee.

Miss Adah E. Bush, Office Management.

CHAIRMEN OF STATE AND TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE.

Alabama.....Mrs. James F. Hooper, Selma.

Alaska.....Mrs. Thomas J. Donohoe, Valdez.

Arizona.....Mrs. Eugene Brady O'Neill, Phoenix.

Arkansas.....Mrs. Joseph Frauenthal, Conway.

California—Mrs. Herbert A. Cable, Los Angeles.
Colorado—Mrs. W. H. Kistler, Denver.
Connecticut—Mrs. Caroline Ruutz Rees, Greenwich, succeeded by Mrs. J. Belknap Beach, Hartford.
Delaware—Mrs. Charles R. Miller, Wilmington.
District of Columbia—Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, Washington.
Florida—Mrs. William Hocker, Ocala, succeeded by Mrs. Frank Jennings, Jacksonville.
Georgia—Mrs. Samuel M. Inman, Atlanta.
Hawaii—Mrs. John M. Dowsett, Honolulu.
Idaho—Mrs. Samuel H. Hays, Boise.
Illinois—Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chicago.
Indiana—Mrs. Caroline Fairbanks, Fort Wayne, succeeded by Mrs. Charles A. Carlisle, Indianapolis.
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Louisiana—Mrs. Arthur Browne Hammond, jr., New Orleans.
Maine—Mrs. Frederick H. Abbott, Saco.
Maryland—Mrs. Edward Shoemaker, Baltimore.
Massachusetts—Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.
Michigan—Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo.
Mississippi—Mrs. Edward McGehee, Como.
Minnesota—Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, Minneapolis.
Missouri—Mrs. B. F. Bush, St. Louis.
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New York—Mrs. William Grant Brown, New York City, succeeded by Mrs. Alexander Trowbridge, New York City.
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North Dakota—Mrs. H. G. Vick, Cavaliet, succeeded by Mrs. Fred L. Conklin, Bismark.
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Tennessee—Mrs. George W. Denney, Knoxville.
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Utah—Mrs. W. N. Williams, Salt Lake City.
Vermont—Mrs. J. E. Weeks, Middlebury, succeeded by Mrs. Anna Hawks Putnam, Bennington.

Virginia.....Mrs. B. B. Mumford, Richmond, succeeded by Mrs. Egbert G. Leigh, jr., Richmond.
Washington.....Mrs. Winfield R. Smith, Seattle, succeeded by Mrs. J. S. McKee, Olympia.
West Virginia.....Mrs. Joseph G. Cochran, Parkersburg.
Wisconsin.....Mrs. Henry H. Morgan, Madison, succeeded by Mrs. E. C. Thompson, La Crosse.
Wyoming.....Mrs. R. A. Morton, Cheyenne, succeeded by Mrs. W. B. D. Gray, Cheyenne.

THE HONORARY COMMITTEE.

(Composed of the Presidents of the following national organizations of women:)

Alliance of Unitarian and other Liberal Christian Women.
American Home Economics.
American Nurses' Association.
American Red Cross.
Association of Collegiate Alumnae.
Camp Fire Girls.
Catholic Alumnae, International Federation of.
Children of America, Loyalty League.
Children of the American Revolution.
Child Welfare League, International.
Collegiate Periodical League.
Colonial Dames of America, National Society of.
Council of Jewish Women, National.
Daughters of American Revolution, National Society of.
Daughters of the British Empire.
Daughters 1812, National Society United States.
Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, National Society of.
Daughters of the Revolution, General Society of.
Florence Crittenton Mission, National.
Garden Club of America.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Girls' National Honor Guard (Inc.)
Girl Scouts (Inc.)
Kindergarten Union, International.
Ladies' Auxiliary Order of Railway Conductors of America.
Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic.
Ladies of the Maccabees.
League of American Penwomen.
Medical Women's National Association.
Militia of Mercy.
Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association, National Congress of.
National American Woman Suffrage Association.
National Association of Colored Women.
National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.
National Council of Women.
National Federation of Music Clubs.
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.
National League for Women's Service.
National League of Women Workers.
National Library for the Blind.

National Women's Medical Association, Committee on War Relief.
National Women's Trade Union League.
National Special Aid Society.
Needle-work Guild of America.
New Century Club.
Order of the Eastern Star, General Grand Chapter.
People's Aid Association, International.
Pythian Sisters.
Royal Neighbors of America.
Southern Association of College Women.
State Women's War Relief.
United Daughters of the Confederacy.
Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.
Woman's Auxiliary Railway Mail Association.
Woman's Benefit Association of the Maccabees.
Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.
Woman's Board of Missions.
Woman's Bureau, National Democratic Committee.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National.
Woman's Department of National Civic Federation.
Woman's Evening Clinic.
Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.
Woman's Missionary Council M. E. Church, South.
Woman's National Farm and Garden Association.
Woman's National Press Association.
Woman's National Rivers and Harbors Congress.
Woman's National Sabbath Alliance.
Woman's Relief Corps.
Woman's Section Navy League.
Woodcraft League of America, National Girls' Work Committee.
Young Woman's Hebrew Association.
Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association.
Young Women's Christian Association, National.

CHAPTER I.

CREATION OF THE COMMITTEE.

Before the United States entered the war the women of America had thrilled to the achievements of the British and French women, and had paid them the tribute of admiration for their immediate and whole-hearted support of their men, both in the field and in industry.

The American women longed to pay their sisters the further tribute of emulation. Thus it was that even before war was declared by Congress, April 6, 1917, when its imminence became more apparent every day, the great associations of women, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Daughters of American Revolution, National Council of Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, through their executive boards or in conventions assembled, pledged their services to their Government. Each of them realized the necessity that had fallen upon the allied countries of appraising their woman power and of substituting it, in trade, in industry, in the mechanism of Government and finance, for the man power which had been removed to the front line battle trenches.

Profiting from the experiences of the women overseas, the first move of the American club women was to take a registration of their membership, to ascertain how best their members could serve their country in case of need.

In addition to these named and many other organizations which, designed in peace time for the promotion of public welfare, wished to devote themselves to war needs, other new societies sprang into existence, with the intent of mobilizing women to meet the new demands created by the war. An example of the latter was the National League for Women's Service, which had for its fundamental idea that women should by volunteer service supplement the work of the official government. It had already organized a bureau of registration and information, which was cooperating with the Department of Labor in placing women in war industries, and hoped to serve similarly the Department of Agriculture. It had branches in the larger cities, and had made a wide appeal to women of all classes. The organization was planned on military lines, adopting a service uniform, and for its Motor Corps rank, discipline, and military drill. The League hoped

that its plan of organization would make it particularly available for government use.

For years books had been written about the women's clubs of America, and foreigners had frequently commented on the American woman's fondness for organization, but it is doubtful if in officialdom or in the mind of the average man there existed any real appreciation of the extent of this organization or the tremendous power that these organizations represented. They merely constituted one of the many strong undercurrents of American life that were not discovered until the tide of war brought them to the surface. In a very general way it was recognized that women were a power, that they were active, efficient, and were making contributions to the social welfare, and did it through some sort of cooperation, clubs, committees, congresses or associations.

In a very hazy sort of a way the idea was prevalent that women were going to play a great rôle in this war. This idea was present equally, although inarticulate, in the mind of women as well as men. How these women were to be used and how mobilized for that use, no one knew. But, as a matter of fact, no one knew much of anything very definitely in the early days of the war. Democracy was found to be a slow and cumbersome agency for making a war machine, but it lumbered, it creaked, it shrieked, until something in the nature of a machine was finally developed.

Looking back on those days, one recalls the feverish desire to be doing something, everywhere evident, everywhere tempered with the very intense fear of doing the wrong thing, and then after an attempt or two, appalled by the inability to do anything. Into turbid, tense, disordered Washington, came the women's tenders of service. It was not known exactly to whom these offers should be referred, or what could be done with them, but it was certain that it would never do to refuse them, for they might be needed, although no one yet knew when and where.

There had been created in August, 1916, by an act of Congress, the Council of National Defense, composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. The act also provided for an Advisory Commission of seven persons, each of whom should have special knowledge of some industry, public utility, or the development of some natural resource, or be otherwise specially qualified. The function of the Council of National Defense and its Advisory Commission was stated as the "coordination of industries and resources for national security and welfare, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation."

During the winter the Council had been slowly getting under way. As war approached, it hastened its organization. By the beginning of April it was a war emergency cabinet. Such matters as the offers of service of the women finally came to it.

At its meetings and in its offices, there was a multitude of serious matters to be settled. There was the food problem already looming up as a serious one. There was the matter of shipbuilding, raw materials, of trade embargoes. Subcommittees were appointed to investigate and make recommendations on these and various other matters. In some cases the recommendations were to the effect that the whole subject be taken over by a free and independent Federal administration. For example, the General Munitions Board of the Council of National Defense was the forerunner of the War Industries Board.

The Council served as a vast laboratory, making experiments, assembling elements, distributing responsibility. It was a gigantic task for six men to solve the intricate problems and meet the new and complex emergencies that were presented.

In spite, however, of these difficulties, the Council went ahead and under its management, little by little, what had seemed a vast kaleidoscope, was resolved into separate parts, and the Council resumed its original function, that of directing, coordinating, and advising.

In the meantime, the part that women wished to play in the great war mechanism was brought to the Council's attention. The Council knew that it knew not women's organizations, and that it could not choose between the various ones offering to be the vehicles to carry the Government's message to the women of the country. Whatever else it was, this was a people's war, and no one group or organization should have right of way over another. After a discussion as to how the situation could be simplified and clarified, the Council voted "that for the purpose of coordinating the women's preparedness movement a central body of women should be formed under the Council of National Defense." The Director was instructed to submit to the Council recommendations having this end in view.

On April 19, the Director of the Council wired to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, that Secretary Lane and he would like to consult with her in regard to important matters concerning the relation of women to the Council of National Defense. Dr. Shaw was on a lecture tour in the South, but replied she could meet them on April 27. On April 21, before she had kept the appointment, the Council of National Defense voted "that a committee of women on women's defense work be appointed, with the following personnel: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Philip North Moore, Mrs. Josiah Evans

Cowles, Miss Maude Wetmore, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Stanley J. McCormick, Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar, and Miss Ida M. Tarbell." Later, Miss Agnes Nestor and Miss Hannah J. Patterson were appointed members of the Committee.

What led the Council to choose this particular group of women will probably never be known. It is only known that the names had been carefully debated before the Council's action, between several members of the Council, a member of the Advisory Commission, the Director and the Secretary of the Council, Messrs. Gifford and Clarkson.

This is but mentioned in passing, because the choice had far reaching results and effects, and also because it answers the question that hundreds of women have asked, "Why these particular women?" No one of these women knew she was to be chosen or that such a committee had been decided upon until she received this announcement: "It gives me great pleasure to inform you of your appointment on May 21, by the Council of National Defense to serve on a Committee of women to consider women's defense work for the nation. * * *." Dr. Shaw was designated as Chairman of this Committee, and asked to call a meeting thereof, in Washington, at the earliest possible date.

It was undoubtedly the intention of the Council to select a committee of prominent and able women. There seems to have been the impression that these women, in many cases, also represented large organizations of women. It was expressly stated, however, by the Chairman of the Council, that the members of the Woman's Committee were not appointed to represent organizations. Since there are several hundred women's national organizations, it would obviously have been impossible to have formed a working committee out of their representatives.

The women who were appointed to the Woman's Committee, feeling themselves conscripted, accepted their appointment without exception, as a call to the service of their country.

To Dr. Shaw, who had spent the whole of a long and active life in the service of a great cause and had looked forward to a "restful old age," as she said—who had been made Honorary President of the National Suffrage Association, on the ground that she could not stand the hard work of the Presidency, acceptance entailed a great sacrifice. Her appointment, however, to lead the total woman power of this great Nation in the time of war was a call to arms, and she canceled her lecture dates and gave the whole hot summer to the organization of the Woman's Committee, not only presiding over the sessions of the Committee, but also carrying on an elaborate correspondence with the various women all over the country, covering every phase of women's war work, and

conferring with the members of the Council over points that needed development and clarification.

Dr. Shaw came to Washington at once and interviewed the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, who was also the Chairman of the Council, as to the functions and duties of this Committee of women. She also arranged with the Director of the Council for its first meeting, which was set for May 2, that being the earliest date at which the members residing at a distance could reach the capital.

It was a momentous occasion when the nine women, entrusted with the leadership of the war work of the women of America, gathered in the little room of the Munsey Building, which was then the headquarters of the Council of National Defense. Doubtless each one of them felt the full weight of the responsibility that was hers, but surely no one of them realized all the difficulties in the way of meeting that responsibility. Before them was the task, as they were speedily informed by their chairman, of coordinating and centralizing the organized and unorganized forces of women throughout the country. How great a task this was, will be seen.

First of all, the Committee decided to take up permanent quarters in a building at 1814 N Street, known locally as "the Little Playhouse." Its owner, Mrs. Edward Halliday, had offered this building, a very charming and attractive place, free to the Government, to be used for war purposes. Washington was crowded and the need for more office space was very great. There, surrounded by mirrors that had once reflected the gaiety of social life, in a setting of green rugs, white woodwork, and damask walls, was begun one of the most interesting chapters that shall ever be written of the advance of women into the service of their country. The atmosphere of the place was typical of all that women had stood for in the past; the thought of its occupants filled with ideas of what the present demanded of them.

Immured in a stately building on a side street, overlooking the staid mid-Victorian British Embassy, the Woman's Committee there received the women who came in increasing numbers both to offer their services and to seek advice on the difficulties that beset their endeavor to make these services valuable to the country. There, too, came the officials of the Government, to hold conferences as to the extent of women's interests and the possibilities of governmental cooperation. From there went out to the women of the hamlet and countryside, as well as of the cities, appeals from the Government asking economy, asking work, asking that the final and complete sacrifice of husband or son be given cheerfully, and with a smile. Messages, too, went out, messages that marked a historic division

between the women of the past and the future; short, terse business circulars on such specific subjects as carrying home parcels and the early ordering of the family's bread supply.

Having first secured a home, the Committee next agreed upon its official name. Since its appointment it had been known as the Woman's Defense Committee. It now became known as the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense. They then chose an executive secretary. For that position, Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, of Chicago, who had already had some experience in organizing the women of Illinois for war work, was selected.

It was suggested that the Committee should have a member to represent in particular the women in industry. A recommendation to this effect was made to the Council, and subsequently Miss Agnes Nestor, of Chicago, was appointed the tenth member of the Woman's Committee.

In perfecting its own organization, the Committee elected Miss Ida M. Tarbell Vice Chairman and Mrs. Stanley J. McCormick Treasurer. Mrs. Philip North Moore had been appointed Secretary by Dr. Shaw.

These matters settled, they set themselves woman-fully to the framing of a plan that would coordinate the organized women of the country in such a manner as to provide a direct and organized channel through which the Government could convey to women its requests and directions for war work.

It was obvious that their first step must be to ascertain what sort of work women might be called upon to do and how women might help perform the work already at hand. Mrs. Catt was appointed to report on what the women of other countries at war had been able to do in helping their Governments. The importance of the work of the Red Cross and the immediacy of its appeal to women naturally led the Woman's Committee to consider first of all how it could assist the Red Cross, and arrangements were made for a conference on this subject with the chairman of that organization. The second thought was given to the food problem. Already this subject had received much publicity.

A conservation program was daily expected. Food had ever been strictly inside women's traditional sphere. It was decided to offer the Food Administration the cooperation of the Committee in promoting the food program.

The new note of this war was sounded by Miss Tarbell, when she said, "Woman power in war becomes the industrial power. We must keep the industrial life as nearly normal as possible. We should help in the labor shortage and cooperate with various organizations having the matter of standards in hand." Labor, then, seemed also a matter for the women's interest and help.

"Moral education in schools is necessary," said Mrs. Funk, "to uphold ideals and instill patriotism and democracy." Education, again, was within the women's sphere.

Therefore, at once before the eyes of these women, trained to the leadership of women, sympathetic with women's ways of thinking, acquainted with their methods of work and the history of their organizations, war work fell under certain headings to which club nomenclature gave the word "departments." Hence, according to the minutes, there were assigned to the various members for investigation as to their possibilities, the following departments of work: "organization, finance, registration, food, educational propaganda, industry and labor, morale—camps, patriotism and democracy, and special training for service."

The second logical step was to find out how many organizations there were operating in each State, what they were doing, and how much territory was covered. It was evident after the most cursory survey that no one organization, no matter how extensive, reached every locality of the United States and included every kind of woman in a locality. One organization might be strong in one State, or even one part of a State, and another organization doing very different sort of war work, be the strong organization in another portion of the country or State. It would be necessary, therefore, that organizations should coordinate their activities inside of State lines, reporting to State heads instead of through their national heads direct to Washington.

It must be remembered that at this time, May, 1917, the whole country was preparing for a long war that would require intensive organization and involve great sacrifices. The possibilities were seen in the light of what had become realities in Great Britain and France. We thought to begin preparations on the scale they had, at the end of three years' warfare, just attained. The Woman's Committee, therefore, contemplated nothing less than the mobilization of the woman power of the whole country. This meant that the women who belonged to no existing organization must also be reached. This could be done only through some agent nearer these women than a committee sitting in Washington.

Both to coordinate existing organizations within State lines and to connect the women of the country with their Government, a State agency seemed necessary. To democratic women—and in their organizations women are extremely democratic—it was apparent that such an agency must be representative of the women in the State. The Woman's Committee therefore drew up a Plan of Organization, which provided for a temporary chairman in each state, who should be instructed to call together the heads, (or their proxies) of the

various State organizations of women and ask them to elect a permanent chairman and executive board of what should be known as the State Division of the Woman's Committee, whose duty it should be to organize similarly the women in the counties and the towns. This Executive Board of the State Division was to be in direct and frequent communication with the National Woman's Committee, receiving through it the messages of the Government and, in turn, transmitting them to the women of the county and town units. Thus in a few days the Woman's Committee had designed a machine that would, by a simple, direct and natural process, coordinate the work of existing societies, mobilize the women for any work the Government needed from them, and carry from the Government messages to the women of the country.

At the first session of the Committee, May 2–9, a tentative Plan of Work was drawn up. At the session June 4 to 28, reports from the Committees investigating departments of work were made, and on June 29, a definite departmental Plan of Work was presented to the Council of National Defense for approval. On July 5, it received formal indorsement, after a few changes, which left it in effect, as follows: There was recommended to the State Divisions, which had already been created according to the plan already discussed, certain departments of work. That of Registration for Service was to undertake a voluntary registration for the purpose of ascertaining and putting on record the woman-power of the country. It was to be taken on official cards, prepared with the cooperation of the Census Bureau and approved by the Council of National Defense. A department of Food Production and Home Economics was to look after whatever related to the production or saving of foodstuffs, cooperating so closely with the Department of Agriculture as to form a direct channel for all information and instructions to the State Divisions from that source. A department of Food Administration was created to cooperate with the Food Administration in reaching the women of the country. Women in Industry was the name of a department to cooperate on the work planned and executed by the Department of Labor and the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. A department on Child Welfare was to be conducted with the advice and cooperation of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Julia Lathrop. The object of the Department of Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies was, as its name implies, to maintain the social agencies already existing. Its underlying purpose was to safeguard the public health and morals, with a view to increasing the efficiency of the producing forces of the Nation. The program of the Health and Recreation Department was to bring the forces of local women to the assistance of the Commission on Training Camp Activities. That of Educational Propaganda was

to stimulate patriotism through meetings, pageants, parades, and to spread information as to the causes and aims of the war. A department of Liberty Loan was to cooperate with the Liberty Loan committee, as was the Home and Allied Relief Department with the Red Cross.

As will be seen this comprehensive and ambitious program had no less an objective than to tie the women of the country to every activity and interest of the Government. The work it covered resolved itself under three heads: Defense work, relief work, and work for the preservation of the home. It is generally recognized that the greatest duty of women in war times is to keep social conditions as normal as possible. At that day when the sound of war preparations had almost drowned every other note from the land, the Woman's Committee sounded its bugle of reminder, both to the Government and to the women as to this last but important duty of women: To keep the home fires going, while the men fight for the country's defense.

These various departments of work were to be adapted by State Divisions to local needs and conditions. Great latitude was to be allowed in developing them, but in order that there might be uniformity in organization and unanimity in effort, each State Division was asked to appoint a chairman for each department. Some of these departments, it was noted, were in function directive, and others merely cooperative.

The plan of work and of organization seemed to the Woman's Committee and evidently to the Council, both logical and effective, providing as it did a program of work and a means for carrying out that program.

There were, however, rocks ahead for the plan. All war agencies had to "feel their way" and steer by hope, if not faith. But the way of the Woman's Committee was more uncertain than others. It had not only the same difficulties to face as the other war agencies composed of men, namely, the inelasticity of our Federal departments, the strict accountability of each department to Congress for itself, the tendency of each Federal department to expand and extend its own organization, but it had in addition the difficulties that arose out of the position and affiliations of women.

In May, 1917, the status of women was a nebulous will-o'-the-wisp. When speeches were made to mothers of boys, woman was the strongest power of the world, the noblest jewel in America's diadem; when food was wanted, she was the foundation-stone on which our whole economic structure is built; when labor was needed she was the great reserve of the industrial world; when pain and anguish wrung the brow or threatened to, she was a ministering angel. But when she

asked for a definite status in the scheme of things, when she asked for the privilege of deciding how she should serve her country and what her contribution to victory should be, her status varied according to the group of men to whom she applied, from that of a mendicant on the doorstep begging for a chance to do all the drudgery of war work to that of a favored creditor, receiving financial aid, provided her desires were O. K.'d by her banker. Because of this "unfixed status" which was not the fault of any man or group of men, but was one of the phenomena of the social organism, the Woman's Committee must have been hampered in the operation of any plan it might present, for every plan would be dependent for success on a status for women common to the whole country.

As there was no such "common status," the next best thing was to assume such a "common status." Now, it is necessary to explain that the position taken by the Woman's Committee as to what the fixed status of women should be, was not the result of any views held as to the political rights of women. There were on the Committee women with entirely opposite views on this subject. These women, suffragists and antisuffragists alike, felt that women had a certain contribution to make to victory—a contribution that men might not recognize as valuable. In order to be able to make this contribution, women must be in a position to urge its importance and acceptance. This they could only do if they were represented on executive bodies, engaged in planning work as well as being used to carry out plans after made.

To reach and rouse the women of the country, as only women could reach them and rouse them would, agreed all the committee, help hasten the day of victory. Increased power to our arms, greater conservation of food for starving allies, more nurses, more money for the Red Cross, more devotion, and a greater mobilization of the spirit of the nation—all these were needed in the days when victory seemed a long way off and men were dying by the hundred thousand. The inability of various groups of men, of Federal departments, of individuals, to accept the Committee's status of women was one of the great obstacles to a smooth working of the plans of the Woman's Committee. This obstacle was, after a fashion, overcome, just six weeks before the signing of the armistice. Its presence was recognized during the greater part of the war, its effects were always present, both in dealings with State groups and with Federal departments. It will be met again and again in this history. The Woman's Committee did not create this obstacle; it must have intruded into any plan of work suggested because it is present, this unfixed status, in the political, social, and economic structure. The Woman's Committee never argued about this status,

nor advocated any change on social or economic grounds, but it early found that it could not adjust its plan to this "unfixed status" without a total loss of an efficient contribution of women to the successful termination of the war.

The Committee therefore made the patriotic choice of adopting the only status that would make for efficiency. If, in so doing, the Committee has helped to equalize the status of women throughout the country, it is incidental to their purpose and was not their intent.

The Woman's Committee was enabled to stabilize this status, as it was able to try out the whole experiment of mobilizing women officially for their country's service, not only because of the official recognition given it by the Council of National Defense, but because of the sympathetic understanding of the purposes and aims of women at all times accorded the Woman's Committee by the members of the Council.

Another rock ahead for this plan lay in the relationship of women's organizations to each other. It is customary to lay all lack of cooperation between women to jealousy and petty personalities. Snap judgment might blame the competition between women's organizations to the same causes. As a matter of fact, it is as little due to these causes as is the lack of cooperation between retail clothing firms. The executive officers of each organization feel their chief responsibility to be to their own members. In a sense organizations compete for the membership that enables them to accomplish things. It is natural that each should refuse to yield its own preeminence or appeal for public support or approval. The same individuality of responsibility that made it difficult for Government departments to use the terminals of some other department, makes it difficult for women's organizations to yield the control necessary to a true federation.

When the Council of National Defense asked the Woman's Committee to coordinate women's organizations, it asked the impossible. Only the President himself, by such an appeal as he afterward made to war charities to unite in one big drive, could have accomplished that, unless there had been such a delegation of authority to the Woman's Committee as made the requests of a Food or Fuel Administration equal to a "mandate." However, so long have women attempted the impossible, and so successful have they been in accomplishing it, that the Woman's Committee undertook the coordination of the work of existing organizations of women. As a step toward this corordination, the committee's plan of organization included the organization of the presidents of all national women's organizations into an Honorary Committee. It acordingly called a meeting of these presidents for June 19. It did this as naturally as the

Council a little earlier, had called a conference of governors. There seems to be a general acceptance of the idea that when you deal with women, you go to their organizations; when you deal with men you go to the governor or a legislature. The question naturally intrudes, "Have women's organizations been the backwater formed because political or straight-out activities are dammed up by the withholding of the franchise or political recognition?" Whatever the answer to that may be, even the Government itself, when it desires women's assistance, goes to a Federation of Women's Clubs, or a National Council of Women. Theoretically, governors are supposed to represent women as well as men, and so when the war machinery was being built theoretically the Council of National Defense and the State Councils were suposed to represent and include women; but the very appointment by the Council of an Advisory Committee on women's activities showed that in effect, it was recognized that women must function through their organizations, since they could not, under the political system, function directly through the Government.

This meeting was held in the Playhouse. Sixty national organizations were represented and there were present about 200 women. Dr. Shaw made a short statement of the purpose for which the Woman's Committee had been created and of its plan of organization and work, explaining that no organization was asked to give up its own line of work and no woman was asked to give up her own membership in any organization. What was asked from all organizations was their cooperation in war service so that the various demands of the Government might, by their help, be brought to the women of the Nation. She then asked each representative present to make a five-minute report on the work of her organization. All these reports alike announced an entire willingness on the part of the organization to cooperate in every way the Government might wish and the Presidents signed the following pledge:

> We, the undersigned Presidents, or proxies, of the Women's National Organizations, do hereby promise the cooperation of our organization with the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and hereby agree, so far as it is possible, to carry out the instructions of the Government.

It was agreed that all unofficial registrations made for the purpose of enrolling women in any individual associations should be called enrollment of members, and that the registration taken by the Woman's Committee should be known as the official registration.

The representatives present were organized into an Honorary Committee of the Woman's Committee. Once more the women had accomplished the impossible. Under the patriotism and the stress of emotion such as made men forget their profits, and mothers sacrifice their best-beloveds, the women's organizations had sunk their in-

dividual claims and desires for individual efforts, and pledged themselves through the Government's agency committee, thus standing behind the Woman's Committee to furnish the power to make its message effective and lend it weight. The many single wires that would otherwise have conveyed the Government's messages, seemed to have been united into one mighty cable to carry a dynamic force that should set millions of women in action.

On July 1, it seemed that the Woman's Committee had discharged its first duty both to the Council and to the women; it had advised the former as to a plan for coordinating the activities and mobilizing the forces of women; it had devised an effective machinery for putting the women at the command of the Government. It was ready for that word of command.

CHAPTER II.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE TO FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS.

THE CHANNEL THEORY.

The responsibility for carrying on the war rested, primarily, of course, upon the Federal departments at Washington. Theirs to make the plans for an army, for munitions, for food, for economy, for funds. The work of carrying out these plans rested largely upon the common every-day citizen. From his sacrifices, his money, even his life—must victory be wrought. In days of peace when time was not an element in success, the Government could depend upon paid agents working slowly through personal contact or by letter, to execute a plan; but in war times, when a whole people must be reached, must understand and respond immediately, paid agents were not sufficient. Volunteer workers must be enlisted, thousands and thousands of them. To bring together the plans, the needs, the requests of Washington, and the volunteer who must execute the plan, satisfy the needs, grant the requests, was one of the chief problems of the war administration. To make a connection between the Federal Government and the women volunteers, was the task of the Woman's Committee. Early in the history of the Committee this function was expressed by the word "channel." Said Mrs. Wood, in writing to Mr. Gifford, Director of the Council:

> We wish to be the channel by which information reaches the women of the country.

Since the women would respond to the messages transmitted by the Woman's Committee only if they knew them to be official, it follows naturally that the Committee must be the "authorized, official channel." Since duplication and wasted effort would result and a coordination of forces be impossible if these women were approached through many channels, it was assumed that the "official, authorized channel" would be the "sole channel." On the assumption that the departments having large programs of work in which they wished to interest volunteer workers of the country, would present these programs to the workers through the Woman's Committee, a simple machinery was designed whereby the Committee

would transmit these plans to its State Divisions, which in turn would transmit them to county and town units. The Woman's Committee would also present these plans to the great women's organizations, which would acquaint their members with them and urge upon them acquiescence or work, as the program required. Thus was presented a motion picture of a whole sex actuated by a single motive, turned on by a single button, moving in one phalanx to the word of command first spoken by a Federal officer.

Dr. Shaw, on June 11, wrote to one of the State Chairmen:

> When I asked the Secretary of War just what was to be our particular function, he said the Woman's Committee was to be *the* clearing house through which women's work shall be coordinated and in which women *shall* cooperate so that any line of work taken up in the State shall be carried on along similar lines; and when more than one agency is doing the work, if there is one that has the machinery to do it better than the others, then the organization with the best machinery shall be instructed to push the work along and all other societies similarly employed shall cooperate with them.
>
> For example,

she explained further,

> suppose it was the department for food conservation. Mr Hoover intends to appoint a man and a woman expert to be at the head of each State directly under the United States Food Administration. These experts will create a program for the conservation of food for the State, and it will be expected that the women who undertake this particular line of service shall work under, *not so much their*[1] *direction, as along that line of procedure.*

Under whose direction the women should work was explained as follows:

> The Woman's Committee intends also to appoint in each State Division a State Director of its Food Administration Department, this director to cooperate with the specialist whom Mr. Hoover may appoint, she being a link between Mr. Hoover's department and the Woman's Committee; and so on down through all the States, county, and local units of the Committee.

Such was the theory of the Committee as to its use as a channel for the departments.

At a session of the Committee held on June 9, 1917, Miss Tarbell took the first step in putting this theory into practice, by suggesting that the Committee should have assigned to it from each one of the Government departments, a competent person who would "advise the Committee as to the points on which cooperation is possible and advisable." At the same meeting it was moved that the Committee ask the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, and Mr. Hoover, to instruct the Committee as to how the women could serve them. Instead, however, of giving the Committee such instructions, the representatives of these departments devoted their remarks to praise and appreciation of the woman

[1] Their—meaning food experts. Italics mine—E. N. B.

power of the country. This was somewhat discouraging to the Committee who wished rather to hear suggestions for utilizing it.

On May 22, however, such a suggestion was made by the Secretary of War. Referring to the day when the young men of the country, between the ages of 20 and 30, would be required to register for military service, the Secretary wrote:

> Through your Committee, I appeal to the women of the country everywhere to join in the celebration of this historic day.

In quick response to this appeal for its service, the Committee, although its State Divisions were not yet entirely organized, asked the women of the country to distribute at every registration booth copies of the President's Speech to Congress the day after war was declared. The printing and transportation of these copies was the patriotic gift of Mrs. Emmons Blaine.

Negotiations for cooperation with departments proceeded, different members of the Committee being detailed for various conferences. To the dismay of the Committee the results of these conferences were rather vague, but when on July 5, the Committee was advised it should refer certain recommendations contained in its Plan of Work to the Secretaries of the several Federal departments, it felt its theory that the Woman's Committee be used as a channel was confirmed, since the Council was composed of the heads of these very departments. Further conferences made it apparent to the Woman's Committee that the Federal departments, although perfectly willing to use the units of the Woman's Committee in arousing interest in their work, did not intend or plan to intrust to the terminals of the Committee the execution of their plans. The position of these departments was quite as logical as that previously taken by the Woman's Committee. Functions had been given the departments by Congress under certain mandates and with certain appropriations for performing them. Neither the functions nor the appropriations could they pass on to another agency. Their agents, in the States, must be responsible to themselves alone.

It was such an argument and one that is quite unanswerable, that led the Food Administrator to insist that in addition to the State Food Administrators who must be in direct contact with and directly responsible to him, he must choose the Home Economics Director, a woman who was to direct food activities of women, who should be in direct contact and responsible to the State Food Administrator.

Although it had to be conceded that the responsibility for framing and executing the plan for conservation of food was Mr. Hoover's, the fact remained that it was the chairmen of the Food Conservation Departments of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee who

would have direct connection with the organized women of the State. Some plan of cooperation was, therefore, necessary. It was finally agreed that Miss Tarbell, as chairman of the Food Administration Department of the Woman's Committee, should become a member of Mr. Hoover's staff. This relation made it possible for the Woman's Committee to arrange that the same woman chosen by the Food Administration as State Director of Home Economics should be the chairman of the Food Administration Department of the State Divisions.

In this way, without either agency abandoning authority over the appointee, duplication could be avoided in the States. One State appointee would receive orders from both the Food Administration and the Woman's Committee, transmitting them to the local units, who would report back to the State appointee, and she in turn would make her reports both to the United States Food Administration and the Woman's Committee. Accordingly, the State Divisions were advised to hold up appointments of food chairmen until the same woman could be agreed upon by Miss Tarbell and Mr. Hoover. In many cases the State Divisions had already made their appointments before they received this notification. As may be imagined, confusion resulted.

When it came to cooperation with the Department of Labor on the subject of Women in Industry, a more delicate situation still was found to exist.

To look after the protection of women in industry seemed well within the scope of an agency that had been created to look after all matters pertaining to women's defense work. The Woman's Committee supposed that the Department of Labor would be glad to use it as a medium in all matters that tied this problem up to volunteer workers. But when it conferred with the Secretary of Labor, it discovered that the Department of Labor was already having both the numbers and conditions of women in industry investigated. This service, which had been in operation since March, 1917, was being rendered, free of cost to the Government, by the National League for Women's Service until such a time when the Department of Labor could take over the work. The chairman of this bureau, Miss Marie Obenauer, had already appointed representatives in some of the States.

It further developed that Mr. Samuel Gompers, who represented labor on the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, had appointed a committee on Women in Industry, with Mrs. J. Borden Harriman as chairman. This committee was also appointing State representatives. When the Woman's Committee, therefore, entered the field, with its theory that it was the sole medium between

the Labor Department and the volunteer women workers in the States, it found that already there were two different appointees in the State, representing women in industry, apparently engaged in the same work but with no connection between them. Neither appointee could know the scope of her own work nor of the other's. It was apparent that nothing could be gained by further confusing the matter with the appointment of a third person to represent the Woman's Committee's Women in Industry Department.

After many conferences and propositions, it was agreed that the same woman must head the Women in Industry department of the State Division of the Woman's Committee, Mr. Gompers's subcommittee, and Miss Obernauer's committee in the Department of Labor. The States were again advised to withhold their appointment of a department chairman until the agencies in Washington could agree on the same individual. In October, 1917, the Department of Labor, under mutual agreement, took over from the National League for Women's Service the work it was doing for that department and under its supervision. Later a new division was formed in the Department of Labor, known as the Woman in Industry Service, with Miss Mary Van Kleeck in charge. This division concerned itself particularly with framing and seeking to have maintained certain standards for women in industry and in this work cooperated with the Women in Industry department of the Woman's Committee, not attempting to have volunteer representatives of its own in the States.

In the case of a third Federal department, the "channel theory" received a new interpretation. It would have seemed that the machinery of the Woman's Committee offered all that was necessary for the work of selling Liberty bonds by and to the women. Before the creation of the Women's Committee, however, the Secretary of the Treasury, who was not even a member of the Council of National Defense, and therefore not held by its policy, had appointed a committee of his own, with Mrs. McAdoo as its chairman. This of itself did not present a complication, especially since in the persons of Mrs. Antoinette Funk and Mrs. Catt there was a liaison connection between the Woman's Committee and the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, Mrs. Funk and Mrs. Catt being members of both.

On June 4, Mrs. Fairbanks, another member of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, came to a meeting of the Woman's Committee, with a definite plan for cooperation between the two committees. This plan was adopted by the Woman's Committee on June 6, and was to the effect that one woman in each State "should be nominated through the Woman's Committee to the State Divisions' Executive Committee, by the Liberty Loan Committee, and recommended with definite instructions to the State chairman."

Thereupon there was added to the list of Departments of Work a "Department of Liberty Loan." Mrs. Funk was asked to take charge of this new department.

In the report made by Mrs. Funk on September 22, this plan was given in more detail, as follows:

> The Woman's Liberty Loan Committee nominates a Liberty Loan chairman in each State; that nomination is presented to the Woman's Committee for ratification, and when so ratified presented to the Executive Committee of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee for appointment to membership upon the Executive Board of the State Division, thus making the machinery of the organized women available for the work of the Treasury Department in the matter of Government loans in the same manner that other departments of the Government function through the Woman's Committee.
>
> The State Chairman has direction of the campaign in her State for the sale of Liberty bonds, and because of the nature of the work, makes her report directly to the central committee at Washington, and files copies of the same for the use of the Executive Board of the State Divisions.
>
> A chairman is also appointed in each of the 12 Federal Reserve districts to act as delegate between the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee and the regional bank and its committee in such Reserve district. This chairman also acts in cooperation with the various State chairmen in her district, coordinating in so far as it is possible the work of the Men's Liberty Loan Committee and the work undertaken as a State activity.

There were many reasons why this arrangement could not always work. Due to the delays in transmitting nominations, these appointments were often made after the chairman of the State Division had already appointed another woman, chairman of Liberty Loan. In a few instances the woman nominated by the Liberty Loan Committee was not acceptable to the State Division.

The whole policy of the Liberty Loan Committee was toward increased centralization. With this idea the State chairman of the Woman's Committee often did not agree. Why, she asked, should she not appoint a chairman of her own choosing to the Department of Liberty Loan, if that chairman sat on her Executive Board? As time went on, the Liberty Loan Committee became less tolerant of any disposition on the part of the State Divisions to object to its appointees. Finally it declared that no such objection would be recognized unless backed by evidence that the appointee was inefficient.

By the time of the Fourth Loan Drive it was recognized that a State Liberty Loan chairman, with expenses paid and franking privileges given her by the Treasury Department, would not be subsidiary to the Executive Board of a State Division of the Women's Committee that could give her none of these things. In June, 1918, the National Women's Liberty Loan Committee released the Woman's Committee from its obligations to accept the nominee of the Liberty Loan Committee as a member of its Executive Board. Thereafter all organized

Liberty Loan work among women was under the direction of the National Women's Liberty Loan Committee.

It will thus be seen that the relationship as first established between these two women's committees was almost an interlocking one. It was actually what might be called a disappearing relationship. The Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, as was later acknowledged by the Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed more with the view to its ability to rouse and crystallize public opinion, as one more Americanization agency, than with the idea that it would add materially to the number of bonds sold. But from the first the women were wonderfully successful in the bond-selling business. The amount of bonds sold by them during the first campaign, before their organization was well under way, was a great surprise to both statesmen and bankers. As the relationship between the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee and the Federal Reserve banks became closer, the relationship with the Woman's Committee seems to have become less so.

Yet it could never be truly said that all connection between the local units of these two bodies ceased. On November 26, 1917, Mrs. Funk had reported:

> In many instances the county chairman of the Woman's Committee and the county chairman of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee are the same, and as results seem to be uniformly good, this practice of appointment of the same chairman is not to be discouraged, except where representatives of the State Divisions are not able to give entire time to the Liberty Loan campaign.

Although the Liberty Loan Committee revoked all appointments at the end of each bond campaign, the appointees who had done successful work were usually reappointed. According to this arrangement, therefore, the Liberty Loan appointees endorsed by the Woman's Committee in most cases continued in office after the plan of cooperation was abandoned. Thus, even after the official connection between the National Liberty Loan Committee and the Woman's Committee was severed the same women did the actual work of both committees and continued to include the work of selling bonds in their reports to the Executive Boards of the State Divisions.

All these adjustments and readjustments must have been very confusing to the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee. One day they were told to make certain appointments and develop departments. A few weeks afterward they were told to hold up appointments, pending an approval by some branch of the Government, of which they had never heard. They could not understand the difficulties under which all governmental agencies must work. They could not know how there had grown up in Washington a very complex and intricate Federal system with an overlapping of bureaus and functions, which is confusing enough to the initiated. To a beginner it seems as if there were no plan, no system, no order whatever, be-

bind it. After awhile—usually a very long while—he begins to understand that what seems to be a duplication of plan is only a natural and even necessary overlapping of functions. Take, for instance, the subject of health. The Surgeon General's office of the United States Public Health Service must naturally include an interest in children's health, as part of its work for the general health, since you can not segregate the children from the family; in the Bureau of Education, there must be interest and study and plans for the health of the children, since their intelligence is somewhat dependent upon their health; the Children's Bureau must also be interested in that, as in every phase of child life. There would seem to be three circles here entirely overlapping; yet while all cover part of the same subject, only a very small part of the same ground is covered by all three. When one understands that what is true of this one subject, which is carried on under three different departments of the Government, the Treasury, the Interior, and Labor, is true of many others, one appreciates how intricate was the problem that faced the Woman's Committee, or faces any agency that undertakes to serve the Government.

There are tangles within tangles; there are decisions and hold-ups that seem to the outsider forever unexplainable. During the early war days, when everyone in Washington was working under great pressure, when each department and bureau was extending over night, when into the problem were injected thousands of zealous workers who did not know these ramifications, it is not surprising that there were so many complications, but rather that there were so few.

Necessarily this chapter dealing with the relationship between the Woman's Committee and the Federal departments, concerns itself mainly with the question of policy. When the policy of a Federal department permitted it to use the Committee as the Committee expected, in other words, when a Federal department accepted the "one channel" theory, there was no difference in policies to adjust, and the results of the cooperation fall logically within the chapters devoted to the programs and accomplishments of the Committee's departments. Such is the case with the Department of Agriculture, which almost immediately detailed a member of its staff to the Committee. In the Department of Labor, the Children's Bureau offered an excellent opportunity for the application of the channel theory. Desiring the fuller cooperation of women in the states, having a large vision of the possibilities of such a partnership, Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau, cordially accepted the cooperation of such an organization as the Woman's Committee had to offer. The results of the program undertaken subsequently by the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Committee, described elsewhere in the account of Children's Year, show what perfect coordination between a

government bureau and an official organization of volunteer workers may accomplish.

The Children's Bureau was staffed by specialists. For years it had been studying and planning. Through the assistance of women's organizations and public-spirited women, this bureau had been able to accomplish a great deal, but not all that it desired. The Woman's Committee offered the bureau access to a larger supply of volunteer labor than it had been able to reach before. In addition, the Committee asked the pleasing and pertinent question, "What would you have us do?" Adopting the workers of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee as its own, the Children's Bureau gave them the franking privilege for their work. Adopting the program of the Children's Bureau as its own, the Woman's Committee passed this program on to the State workers. Help was given from both sources; bulletins, press notices, pamphlets were written in collaboration, printed by the Children's Bureau, and distributed by the Woman's Committee.

It must not be supposed that the relations of the Committee with the Federal departments were confined to its use as a channel. It is a fact recognized by both the Federal departments and the public that to the rousing and unifying of public opinion by the Woman's Committee, the plans of the Federal Government, even when transmitted by other agencies than the State Divisions, owed their success.

In addition, the Woman's Committee served the Federal departments as a clearing house for inquiries of all sorts. In the early days every office in Washington was flooded with offers of service for doing anything from "going into camouflage" to "becoming a refreshment corps." These offers were sent to the Woman's Committee and there distributed by a thoughtful information bureau to the agency to which they should go. Many were the problems, too, sent by the Federal departments to the Committee, and many the questions referred to the departments for answer. One woman wrote, for instance, in regard to the holding of wool. This letter was sent to the Commercial Economy Board. Another wanted to know about the price of wool. Her letter was referred to the Bureau of Markets. Many such questions as this were asked, "Is canned goods safe?" In every case information would be sought from experts and forwarded to the writer. The committee was, in effect, a clearing house of departmental information to women.

The Committee also served the departments as a clearing house for ideas and undertakings. Many subjects were brought to the attention of the Woman's Committee and by them referred to the Council, which in turn referred them to another agency for attention. One of the first of these was the idea of an allotment and war-risk insurance. The Committee suggested that this subject be

turned over to a commission of men and women fitted to solve it. The Council answered that this matter was already under consideration. Later, Judge Julian Mack, who drafted the bill, appeared before the Woman's Committee and discussed it with them.

In addition to serving the departments as a clearing house for information and suggestions to and by the women, the Committee tested diligently its advisory function. But by far its greatest service to Federal departments was the plan of organization that placed at the disposal of these departments the volunteer women workers of the country.

That the State Division of the Woman's Committee had mobilized these volunteer workers was discovered sooner or later by all Federal agencies. In every locality there are only a limited number of women who can and will do volunteer work. These women stood ready to obey the word of command from Washington. If this word came to them through some other channel than the Woman's Committee, these workers appealed first to their local leader to know if it was authentic. Assured that it was, even though a Treasury appointee gave it, they combined forces locally, did what was to be done, and reported the result back to the Woman's Committee. Often they rebelled at the waste of time involved in conference between two appointees, or in making duplicate reports. Often they were greatly confused. They knew that a single line of instructions, one single line of connections, would make for efficiency. What perhaps they did not realize was that it would have been a thousandfold more confusing, more wasteful, if each Federal agent had had to build up a local machine for himself. A chairman of the Woman's Committee representing the Government could more easily mobilize local workers for any agency than could any single Federal appointee, even though he had the franking privilege, stationery, and all expenses paid, for the chairman of the Woman's Committee was not only a representative of Washington, she was furthermore an elected representative of the women of that community.

It was because the Woman's Committee, being more familiar with the ways of women than the masculine heads of Federal Departments, knew the difficulties in the way of the manifold channel, that it stood out firmly for the "one channel idea," as it has been called. Through this channel, leading to these women volunteers who stood ready to serve and direct, save and reclaim, create and nurture, could be poured all that women had to offer; labor, devotion, patriotism, and service, as gifts, as contributions, even as votive offerings. What directions, instructions, and plans this channel conveyed to these women, and the reports they returned, will be told in other chapters.

CHAPTER III.

RELATIONSHIP OF STATE DIVISIONS TO STATE COUNCILS.

Once, a long time ago—how and where has nothing to do with this history—there was built a high wall. On this side, said someone, falls the great affairs of war, finance and state. They are men's interests. On the other side was placed the home, the children, and the church. Here, said the same someone, dwell women's interests. And on the side where dwelt the men's interests was placed all power and dominion. Well, little by little, that partition has been wearing away. Women have been climbing over into the men's side. Men have been reaching over and stealing some of the women's interests. Across the wall, here and there, men and women have joined hands. At other places, large stones have been rolled away. And still there are men and women who hold that partition insurmountable. That wall is mortared with tradition. No one event in history has done more to crumble that mortar than the Great War.

At the beginning of the war, in April, 1917, there existed a large group of men who believed that the work of waging war belonged on the men's side of the wall. Gradually these very men were forced to make a small opening through to the women's side of the wall. They wished to annex the adjacent women's territory. They called it a committee, or an auxiliary. Authority, control, remained on the men's side. Many tasks were thrust past the door and reports were to be handed back.

To come down to facts and details, in April, 1917, before war was declared, various State governments appointed or caused to be appointed Committees of Public Safety or Councils of Defense. The duty of these bodies was rather vaguely outlined as that of mobilizing the resources of the State for the national defense. While these bodies looked to Washington to tell them what resources the National Government was calling for, and how they might be mobilized, the authority of these State Councils came to them from their own State. The Council of National Defense, realizing that there should be some uniformity in the organization of these bodies, and some direction of them, on May 20, 1917, called the governors of the various States in counsel. Mr. Gifford, the Director of the Council, and various members of the Council of National Defense, addressed that meeting, and

an advisory relationship was established between the National Council of Defense and the State Councils, though it was recognized by both the Council of National Defense and the State Councils that the Council of National Defense had no real authority over these Councils.

Doubtless many of these State Councils thought of their organization as representing women. A few of them, when they were organized, appointed some women on the Council. But in these same Councils, composed of a large membership, the work was done and decisions made by a small Executive Board on which women had no representation.

Several of these Councils asked a woman to organize a committee on women's war work, this committee to be called a Woman's Division, or a Woman's Auxiliary, and to report to the Executive Board of the Council. Not one State Council included women and women's interests in its plan of work or organization on a partnership basis.

About this time the Woman's Committee appointed by the Council of National Defense, to direct the activities of women and to be the channel between the Federal Government and the women of the Nation, organized its State Divisions. Although these State Divisions were to be the State organs of the National Woman's Committee, they were intended to be representative of the women of the State. In any State, therefore, where a State Council had organized the women into an auxiliary, this organization, provided, of course, that it represented the women of that State, was accepted by the Woman's Committee as its State Division; but in most of the States where there was no previous organization of women, the State Division was organized by the Woman's Committee, entirely independent of the State Council.

Now, when the Committee's plan of work was presented to the Council of National Defense, it had carried a request for a budget of $30,000, and this had been allowed from the sum appropriated by Congress for the work of the committees of the Council. This was only enough, however, to finance the office staff and work in Washington; but, even aside from the fact that the amount at the Committee's disposal was limited, no Federal committee could finance State agents, elected by State groups for work for the States, as were the State Divisions. This the Woman's Committee explained to the State Divisions, suggesting that they be financed either by private contributions or from the funds appropriated by the State Legislatures for defense work in the States. As such appropriations, when they had been made, were at the disposal of the State Councils of Defense, the State Divisions were thus forced to apply to the State Councils for financial support. When they did so, the State Councils

naturally inquired why they should be asked to support an organization over which they had no control. About the same time a bulletin was received by the State Councils from the Council of National Defense, telling them of the organization of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee and suggesting that, in the interests of cooperation, the chairmen of these divisions be given a place on the Executive Boards of the Councils.

While the Councils were considering how they should act in this matter, there came to them a wire from Mr. Herbert Hoover, the new Food Administrator, asking them to assist him in the registration of the women in his Food Administration. His plan contemplated the signing by every woman of a post card, pledging herself to assist him in his conservation program. He needed all the assistance possible in conveying these post cards to the women. In his intense desire to secure all the help that was available, Mr. Hoover did not confine himself to any one agency. He also asked the Woman's Committee to assist him, and the Committee accordingly enlisted the help of its State Divisions.

At that time the State Councils were acting on the theory that they were the sole agency in the States of the Federal departments in Washington. The State Divisions believed that they were the sole agents in all things concerning women. Each State agency therefore accepted, in good faith, the task given it by Mr. Hoover. In some States the State Council had completed its plans before it discovered that the State Division was also planning to conduct a campaign. In most cases one agency sought the other out and tried to effect a division of the task. Men and women, fortunately, work better together as individuals than as exponents of a theory. Faced with a situation, they made compromises of some sort or another that got the food registration done. But each agency had been faced with these facts: There existed in the State two agencies, one having authority from Washington to convey to the women of the State, Federal needs requiring the assistance of women; and the other, having its authority from the State, but established with the approval and in fact at the request of the Council of National Defense, organized to convey to the people of the State, among them women, the needs of the Federal Government.

It was a trying situation for both these agencies. Neither one was responsible for it, yet having been placed in authority each felt its obligation to use the authority given it. The State Divisions felt, sometimes vaguely and sometimes with great passion, that woman's opportunity to make her full contribution to defense work depended upon keeping clear and strong their connection with Washington and the Woman's Committee. The State Councils, on the other

hand, saw a Federal committee not only reaching into the precious sovereignty of the State, but touching that sovereignty in a most sensitive spot—its organization of, and relationship to, its own women. Women who had never desired political equality welcomed the opportunity for independence of local control offered by the appointment of a Federal committee on women's defense work. Men who had never before approved the public service of women chafed at their inability to direct it.

The attitude of the State Council was strengthened by its belief that if it was to finance the State Division it should control it. The women felt that the mere possession of the funds did not carry with it the right to dictate what work women should do and how it should be done, and that there was after all, no real reason why the control of the State pocketbook should rest with the men.

The State Council's position would have been incontrovertible had the argument been between two agencies, both composed of men, or composed equally of men and women, since a State Council could not logically be asked to finance a branch of a Federal committee over which it had no jurisdiction. But since the women were not represented on the Executive Board of the State Council, since the State Division was the only governmental body through which women could do independent war work, since it represented officially the women of the State who wished to give war service corresponding in value and effort to that of the State Council, the State Divisions held that some part of the public funds appropriated by the State for use in that State for defense work, should justly be set aside for women's war work, without requiring from women that they give up all independence of initiative and become an auxiliary to the Council.

To this there was but one logical answer, it would seem, for the State Councils to make: "We will give women representation on the State Council. It shall be composed of both men and women and thus women can have some voice in what the woman's part of this work shall be and how it shall be done." This answer was not made. Instead, there began a series of adjustments, and in some cases, maladjustments, that stretched through the greater part of the war.

The sort of relationship that was finally agreed upon between the State Councils and the State Divisions depended upon three things. First in importance was the type of man and the type of woman at the head of the two agencies, and their understanding of each other. Second, the attitude of the general public to its women and their work—what I have elsewhere called the "unfixed status." Third, the relative strength of the two agencies. But of these three elements, by far the most important were the first and the second,

and so accustomed is man to considering woman personally, that the first was often the cause of the second. In other words, if the chairman of the State Division was personally agreeable to the State Council, or knew how to "manage men," then the men on that State Council were apt to think that, after all, women were to be trusted—in some cases, even consulted. On the other hand, if the chairman of the State Division was the type that men "can boss," then the men were apt to say "go" and the State Division followed their mandate.

There were three distinct types of relationships between State Divisions and State Councils. The first provided for some form of amalgamation between the two agencies. That effected by Connecticut was the closet. "The Connecticut Plan," as it was subsequently called, when finally completed, provided that the one Council composed of men and women should handle all defense matters in the state. Three members of the Woman's Executive Committee were added to the Council. All women's committees concerned with subjects also handled by men's committees were merged with such committees of the Council, and some changes were made in chairmanships in these cases. All remaining committees of women which were agreed upon as necessary or useful were made standing committees of the Council, retaining with few exceptions their former chairmen.

The second type of relationship provided for a cooperation dependent on the same woman serving as a member of the State Council of Defense and also as chairman of the State Division of the Woman's Committee. Sometimes the State chairman of the State Divisions was placed on the State Council, plead her case before the Council, and was given financial assistance, making reports to the State Council, but not dependent on its O. K. Sometimes a woman who had been appointed on the Executive Board of the State Council and asked to organize the women of the State, was elected chairman of the State Division of the Woman's Committee. In Wisconsin, the sole connection between the State Council and State Division of the Woman's Committee resided in the person of the chairman of the Wisconsin Division. Should the chairman of the State Division resign and a new one be elected whom the governor would not appoint on the State Council, the connection would end. In Michigan the connection was effected in still another way. The State law creating the Michigan War Preparedness Board, did not permit the appointment of a woman to it. Accordingly the governor appointed a Woman's Committee on War Preparedness, of six members, with Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, who was the chairman of the Michigan Division of the Woman's Committee, as chairman. This board

served as an intermediary between the Michigan War Preparedness Board and the Michigan Division of the Woman's Committee. The State Division made reports and received some financial assistance from the War Preparedness Board, but acted as an independent body in planning or initiating its work. At best, such cooperation was but makeshift and not based on equality or division of authority.

The third form of relationship existed when the State Divisions served as Woman's Divisions of the State Councils without representation on the Executive Boards of the Council, financed by the State Council, and being in effect auxiliary to them, although they preserved their connection with the Woman's Committee in Washington.

Of these three types there were many variations. Cooperation is a word of shifting meaning. In Colorado the Woman's Committee, appointed by the governor equal in rank to the State War Council, worked in complete harmony with it, through a joint Council formed by the two bodies. In Louisiana, the laws of the State prevented a woman from serving on any State board, and cooperation was made possible by the State Council's employing the chairman of the State Division as a director of women's work. That the State Councils, generally speaking, had little conception of what the women meant when they asked for cooperation or for recognition, may be inferred from the fact that while 24 States reported that the "Woman's Divisions were part of the State Councils," only five States reported that the chairman of the State Division had been placed on the Executive Board. One is provoked to wonder what sort of a "part" it is that provides no voice in the decisions.

The relation between the State Councils and the State Divisions was still further complicated by their interpretation of their relationship to the Federal departments. The State Councils felt strongly that they should be the central authority in the State, and all messages from the Federal Government to anybody in the States should come through them. The State Divisions felt equally strongly that, as they were formed by a Federal Woman's Committee, they should receive their orders direct from Washington, and not through the State Councils. But both agreed that there should be no repetition of the difficulties of the Food Pledge Drive.

There existed at that time in the Council of National Defense a section whose business it was to transmit the messages of the Council and the Federal departments to the State Councils, known as the Section on Cooperation with the States. In order to save future misunderstanding between the State Councils and the State Divisions, it was agreed, on July 14, 1917, between the Woman's Committee and this Section, that no recommendation calling for the assistance

of the women's divisions should be forwarded through this Section to the State Councils of Defense, without the Woman's Committee in Washington having first given consent and approval. Also, that the Woman's Committee in Washington should not send out any recommendations to its State Divisions for work, which would call for assistance of the State Councils, without first notifying the Section on Cooperation with the States. When recommendations were mutually agreed upon, they should be made jointly to the State Councils and the State Divisions. It was further agreed that there should be consultation and cooperation between this Section and the Woman's Committee, in order that full notification and explanation of work might be made to the State Councils and State Divisions.

The difficulty about this arrangement came in deciding what was specially women's work and what would call for the assistance of the State Councils. Take, for instance, the simple matter of urging customers to carry home their parcels. Surely this seemed a business suggestion to be passed on to the merchants and advertising associations. But surely, too, it was a woman's business, since it concerned every woman shopper.

Work has long been divided into what is strictly men's interest, what is strictly women's, and that which belongs commonly to both. But is there, in reality, such a division? The success of women bond sellers and bankers, the election of women to bank directorates, show that finance can not be counted wholly in men's sphere. Child welfare may be considered traditionally as women's work. Yet the problem of child labor is intimately connected with industry. In Utah there are joint child welfare committees, in Missouri, a Children's Code Commission composed of men and women. The time may soon come when the welfare of children will be regarded as a paternal as well as a maternal affair. The drafting of the boys into military service, Gen. Crowder's appeal to the mothers and wives to uphold the morale of the Army, give women an undeniable interest in questions of diplomacy and State. The conservation of food affects industry as well as the home. Most of life's interests to-day are simply human interests. They have no sex.

These things were soon discovered by the Woman's Committee. They were discovered by the State Councils. To draw the line and say, "Lo, here" or "Lo, there, lie women's particular interests," was found to be impossible.

Why then, it will be asked, why then this Woman's Committee at all? Why could not the women have been organized as State Council auxiliaries? The answer lies in the fact that women had certain contributions to make in mobilizing the resources of the country, that the State Councils would, in all likelihood, not have valued or called

for. Some day, it is true, when women are heard in public councils, this contribution will leaven the whole and not be appended as of feminine origin. At the beginning of the war when "people" usually meant men only, when State Councils' deliberations included only the opinions of men, when State Councils' decisions voiced only the conclusions of men, these special contributions of women would never have been noted in the results, without the independence of initiative possible under an organization planned, headed, and controlled by women.

Sometimes this contribution of women was merely in viewpoint. A good example of the different way in which men and women approach the same subject, was furnished by one State, where the State Council concluding from the English experience that it would be necessary to press women into industry when the men were taken by the draft, established a Committee on Women in Industry. The purpose of this committee which was headed, planned, and controlled by men, although it contained women on it, was to speed up production. It thought to do this by asking the factories to provide nurseries where women could leave their babies while they worked. Now the State Division in that State also had a Women in Industry Committee. But the purpose of that committee was to protect the women in industry, so that the children of the next generation should not pay for this war. The men regarded the utilization of mothers of young children as an easy solution of the problem of speeding up production. The women regarded it as a last recourse, to be used only if production could not be increased by any other sacrifice. When a woman's viewpoint such as this is counted at a voting table, surrounded by men and women, it must take its luck, but until it is so presented there must needs be a special committee to plead it, if it is to gain any recognition at all.

Sometimes women wish to make a contribution that men would never ask of them. Such a contribution is suggested in the demand from an Arkansas woman, that instead of asking women to make over old clothes, the manufacturers be asked to give them better materials, so that there would not be the need for so much or so soon remaking.

Another instance of the difference between the service men wish women to give and the service women consider worth giving is shown in the "carry-it-home" campaign. A man's happy idea of the way women could help was the suggestion that rich society women might pose for pictures in the Sunday papers, as carrying home their own market baskets. When asked to do it, these women said, "No, we'll do no such a silly thing. There are too many important things for us to do to waste time posing for pictures."

One of the important things women wished, and they wrote in to the committee in numbers to say so, was to devise some way by which the money saved by the women carrying home their own parcels should go to the consumer instead of to the merchant.

The value of the Woman's Committee and the State Divisions was that this organization gave to women independence of initiative to make their own contributions in their own way. No one doubts that the women of the States would have done the work, much of it, whether they formed a State Division or worked as an auxiliary of the State Council. But in the latter event they could only have done what the State Council, composed of men, permitted them to do. Because of its connection with the Woman's Committee, the State Division could—and did—essay an independence in initiative that made a tremendous contribution to the war, even though its bills might be paid and audited by the State Council.

But even if the benefits that may have accrued from women being free to choose their contributions, and the fact that the value of woman's contribution shone out as never before, can be traced to organizations of women into State Divisions separate from State Councils, no one can deny that the duplication of work and labor was very great. Could the men and women have started out partners in a common enterprise this could have been saved. The point to be remembered in this connection is, however, that in 1917 a single organization would have been a narrow-gauge machine, built to convey the masculine viewpoint only, to deliver only the masculine will. Since such an organization would not have had room for the women's view and will, it was necessary to have a special organization with Federal backing to express them. It is one of the achievements of the Woman's Committee that a narrow-gauge organization probably will never be attempted again.

That this will be so, is peculiarly the achievement of the National Woman's Committee, for while the State Divisions brought in food cards and registration, enrolled nurses and stenographers, it was the Committee at Washington who gained for the State Divisions the recognition that enabled them to essay independence.

It must not be supposed that there was always friction between the State Councils and the State Divisions. When efficiency demanded one headship, the Woman's Committee yielded leadership, as when, for instance, in the case of the first food drive, it wrote to its State Divisions:

> The State Councils of Defense have been asked by the Council of National Defense and by Mr. Hoover to print and circulate these food pledges, and thus they will be in complete charge of the entire undertaking. Since this matter chiefly concerns women, it is clear that leadership must in a large measure be

given over to the women themselves. It will, of course, be necessary for all branches of the Woman's Committee to work in closest cooperation and under the direction of the State Councils of Defense, so that there may be no overlapping or duplication of effort. The plan is nation-wide in scope, and must be efficiently carried out or a large part of its purpose will fail. The conditions differ so greatly in the different States, that each State must work out its own plans, but surely the best results are obtained where the men and women work together enthusiastically in a common cause.

Nor was irritation the only feeling of the State Council toward the State Division. While it might resent the fact that the women did not receive their instructions from the Council, and while in some cases it would have preferred that the work be done by other women, the State Council knew that it was "dependent upon the work of these women to carry out its plans." If the women of the State Division sometimes used their Federal lineage as a barrage against the authority of the State Council, or the State Council sometimes used its pocketbook as a gatling gun, the war work usually went on. After all, that was the ultimate aim of both. In many cases it is not too much to say that an amiable and helpful relationship was established. In every campaign there was some degree of cooperation, and often mutual helpfulness. When this was efficient it was bound to bring appreciation. However, the State Councils might disagree with the State Divisions as to their status, they could share tasks and divide honors with a generous spirit. Each had a common dependence, one on the other, the women for finances, the men for aid. They shared together a profound experience in fulfilling a great purpose and this, of itself, was bound in time to breed fellowship.

To some extent the difficulties in the relationships between the State Divisions and the State Councils were inherent in the situation. Since the one body had been created and was directed from Washington, and yet was dependent upon the body created by the State for support; since each body had been led to think that it was authorized to deal with women's war work, there naturally resulted confusion of purpose and administration. Neither body was to blame for that. They were victims rather than creators of these conditions. What is not clear is whether they were equally free from all responsibility for the continuance of these difficulties. The only way by which the State Divisions could have done away with them was by absolute capitulation to the State Councils, which meant that all women's war work must be under the direction and authority of men. This would undoubtedly have greatly lessened women's contribution to war work. On the other hand, the State Councils, with a few exceptions where they were prevented by statute, could have remedied all difficulties by according recognition to the State Divisions by an equitable representation on their boards. Unless it can

be shown that this would have impaired the efficiency of the Council's war work it must seem that the burden of responsibility for lack of cooperation must rest with the State Councils. But such judgment must be tempered by the fact that men, as well as women, suffered from this "unfixed status" of women. To have given to the State Divisions such recognition might have entailed a greater sacrifice of prejudice and tradition in fact than it does in logic. At any rate, except in a very few cases, the recognition was not given, and their relationship with the State Councils continued one of the handicaps of the State Divisions. How, in spite of this, the State Divisions organized is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANSWER OF THE STATES.

Immediately after the plan of organization had been approved by the Council of National Defense, the Woman's Committee appointed by telegraph a temporary chairman in each State. This telegram was followed in a short time by brief instructions for gathering together the heads of all organizations of women, statewide in their scope, including civic, religious, fraternal, patriotic, literary, and philanthropic associations, together with representatives of unorganized women, for the purpose of forming a State Committee and electing officers and an executive board, who were in turn, to choose chairmen for the departments of work. The State Division was intended to include all the women of the State.

Perhaps the first answer to this telegram came from Mrs. Joseph Bowen, of Chicago, who wired: "Organization in Illinois now under way, with heads of lodges and organizations cooperating." Illinois had not waited for the Council of National Defense to mobilize the women of that State. Early in April a small body of women had met to organize some kind of an association which could be of service to the country in the war crisis and had sent Mrs. Ira Couch Wood to visit the East, with a view to finding out which one of the various so-called national societies had official sanction. In a report which she made on her return, she stated that there were something like 15 national associations, but that not one of them, except the Red Cross, which was an organization of men and women, officered by men, had governmental recognition.

It was then decided to form an organization in Illinois which would not become allied with any national organization until one should be formed under governmental sanction. This association proceeded to elect a central committee with an advisory board composed of the heads of women's organizations, and a small executive committee which should have an executive center in Chicago. This was exactly the plan adopted later by the Woman's Committee; the idea back of the two was the same, namely, to create no new machinery except such as was absolutely necessary.

The governor of Illinois was notified of the action of the women and expressed his pleasure, saying that this association would work

in splendidly with the State Council which he had not yet named. On April 27, the very day the Woman's Committee was appointed by the Council, this association of Illinois women had opened State headquarters in Chicago. Immediately upon its learning of the appointment of the Woman's Committee it accepted the name and status given it, as a State Division of that Committee. Its machinery had already been built.

When the governor appointed the State Council, he fortunately named Mrs. Bowen as one of its members. She also became a member of its Executive Board, and thereafter was the slender but strong bond that tied to the State Council throughout the war period, the Illinois Division of the Woman's Committee. The State Council left to her the direction of the patriotic work of the women of the State and contributed to the support of the State Division $1,150 a month, together with office expenses. Speedily this division began the organization of town and county units of the Committee, and met with such success that the men asked the women if they would not help with the men's organizations in these communities. At times the women's work in Illinois seemed overwhelming, so great was its scope, so full its measure. When the money appropriated by the State Council for women's work was all spent, nothing dismayed, this division started in to raise "on its own" $100,000.

Illinois was not the only State that had forestalled the appointment of the Woman's Committee. On April 19, 1917, a chairman and four women had been appointed to a woman's committee of the War Preparedness Board of Michigan. One of the first acts of this chairman, Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, was to call together the heads of some State organizations of women. A little later, Dr. Crane was appointed temporary chairman for Michigan by the Woman's Committee. Following her instructions, she, too, called all the women of the State together and was elected permanent chairman of the Michigan State Division. Her difficulty was that the State Preparedness Board could not legally appoint a woman on its Executive Board, yet Dr. Crane felt that it was not fair to the Woman's Committee that its State representative should be a subsidiary committee of what was really Michigan's State Council. As another complication, there was the question of finances. As usual, the pocketbook settled the relationship. The Michigan Division of the Woman's Committee, financed as a subcommittee of the Michigan War Preparedness Board, extended its organization to towns and counties. In the spring of 1918, when a Counties' Division of the War Preparedness Board was created to have charge of the work of the county war boards, Dr. Crane and two other members

of the Executive Board of the State Division were made members of the executive committee of the counties' division.

In Minnesota, also, a State organization of women was already under way when the Woman's Committee was appointed. The State Public Safety Commission had called into consultation one of its leading women, Mrs. T. G. Winters, and asked her to organize the women of that State for patriotic work. Trained in club procedure, she followed very nearly the plan of the other prenational committees—the same plan that was later the plan of the Woman's Committee—and gathered together a representative group of women that was financed by the Public Safety Commission, although the women had no voice on the Safety Commission's Board. This auxiliary committee of the Minnesota Public Safety Commission was accepted at Washington as the Minnesota Division of the Woman's Committee.

In point of time, the first State in which the women organized was Delaware. On March 30 an organization was formed in Wilmington that subsequently became the Delaware Division. In every case where a war organization represented all the women of the State and their organizations, it was accepted by the Woman's Committee as a State Division. In some cases the Committee suggested that an organization only one-half representative of a State be made the representative by including the other organizations. Other States in which the women had been organized prior to May, 1917, were Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, New Mexico, and Wyoming.

The difficulty with this group of State Divisions was that with their pre-Woman's Committee organization they had a pre-Woman's Committee status. It was the same status that, without a National Woman's Committee, would have probably been that of most State committees of women. As it is easier to give the pitch to a new roof than to make over an old one, it might have been easier for these particular State Divisions to have established an equitable relationship with the State Councils, if the women had had no previous entangling alliances with them.

The appointment of a Federal Woman's Committee even helped the women already organized under State Councils. To know that back of the women was Federal sanction and a national demand for their work gave strength and backing to every State Division, even those organized as the Women's Divisions of State Councils. Every State Division, it may be remarked in passing, needed this national backing, unless it became willingly and promptly subject to the will of the State Council. In that case it had no further trouble. Yet it must not be thought the women contemplated for a moment stopping war work. "Give us authority," they said to the State Councils,

"or we won't work through your machinery." What gave them the opportunity to make this statement with effect was the appointment of the Woman's Committee.

If the consciousness that the voice in Washington was back of them was a great help to the State Divisions when dealing with their State Councils, the great body of women organized under the State Divisions must have given strength to the Woman's Committee in Washington. Without them, the Woman's Committee might have become only a "resolving body." With them dependent upon it, it became a leader, and it was the responsibility for this leadership that gave the Committee the courage to ask that State Councils give these women recognition and opportunity.

The States organized with varying degrees of promptness. There were those that called a meeting at once. They, too, had their difficulties to adjust. It did seem sometimes to the Woman's Committee, in session at 1814 N Street, eagerly awaiting answers to its telegrams, as if nearly everything that could have been devised by a pro-German fate had happened to prevent quick response.

There was the State where the appointment of a temporary chairman went to the wrong woman, because of a mistake in initials. There was the State where the woman appointed was in the hospital, under an operation. Her mail was not received, therefore the appointment was not declined. There were the women who were out of the State for the summer. No one was to blame for these things, and yet they delayed organization. There was even the fact that the Woman's Committee began its work at the beginning of the long, hot summer, when activities of every kind are stopped throughout almost half the land.

Then there were delays due to misunderstandings. In one State a woman who had been appointed chairman of the State Division was made a member of the State Council. Because of ill health, she resigned the chairmanship of the Woman's Division, but retained her place on the State Council, and so loose was the mechanism of the State Council that she was not made to understand that one resignation entailed the other.

In another State when a new governor was elected, the Council of Defense, appointed by the former governor, resigned. The new governor would not appoint the former chairman of the State Division on his board. The woman he did appoint on the new board would not reorganize or take over the State Division.

There was the case where the original chairman appointed by the Woman's Committee, an excellent one, was not appointed chairman of the subcommittee of the State Council on Woman's Work. In the interest of efficiency she resigned in favor of the woman who had

been appointed to the latter post. After a survey this second woman decided that the work was too hard, but in resigning, she turned her resignation to the State Council, and the Woman's Committee heard of it only incidentally, and then not until December.

But many incidents such as these could be given and there would still be a large and encouraging number of States in which the women, without asking questions or reporting difficulties, received instructions, and, hot weather or not, went valiantly to work organizing a State Division.

In most States trained club women played an important part in this organization. What the General Federation of Women's Clubs has done to train women in the way of working together for the public good, was then contributed to the national weal. "If God," says Dr. Shaw, "has ever led women anywhere, He has been leading them through women's organizations." In other States there were raised up new leaders. Never before had all types of women banded together for one object. That there should be so little difficulty about the amalgamation of the different groups discussed in Chapter I, should awaken astonishment among the wits who have thought managing each other beyond the ability of women who have made an art of managing a whole sex.

The women felt, as one letter expressed it, "that they had their marching orders from Washington," and were obeying, like soldiers, the word of command. It was natural that the women should look to Washington. It was not only that the national capital was the center of the war machine, the contact with the theater of war and the Allies; it was not altogether that in time of national crisis State loyalty is sunk into patriotism; it was not even that in a national effort centralization is vital to success. It was all this, but more. It was that the kind of women who headed the State Divisions had been trained in national societies, they had taken part in national conventions and congresses, not as representatives of a locality, but as representatives of a sex, an idea, a hope, an ideal, and thus they thought nationally. Needing leadership they looked to their Central Government for it.

These women were equally pleased with the plan of work offered them. It fitted their abilities. It followed their line of training. No education was needed to make them understand and grasp it. The response showed that.

The task of seeing that the organization of State Divisions was perfected belonged to the Department of Organization, of which Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar was chairman. When a State Division was able to report an Executive Board and chairmen of departments, its work was but begun. Advised as to policy and procedure from Wash-

ington, it was then intrusted with the task of extending the organization of the State Division to include every patriotic woman in the State. As a rule, counties were first organized with a chairman, a representative committee, and usually with a chairman for the respective departments; then city, township, and school-district units were formed, much upon the same plan. In New England States the town rather than the county was the prevailing unit. Usually the larger cities were divided into wards and precincts, with a "captain" or "leader" in each, responsible for reaching the women in her district. Maryland reported a city organizer, ward chairmen, precinct directors, and community leaders. Each precinct director appointed a community leader, who was responsible for giving information directly to each resident in her block. In some States the women were organized in groups of families, one chairman being responsible for 25 families in cities, and 5 families in thinly populated districts. In other States the woman population was organized by "tens," these tens including anywhere from 10 to 15 women.

Local organization increased very rapidly. By December, 1917, county organization was completed in 23 States. There were permanent chairmen in 4,285 towns and 1,919 counties. Forty-four States had begun either county or town organization. A year later there were county chairmen in more than 80 per cent of the counties throughout the country; the number of city, town, and township units reported to Washington reached nearly 14,000.

The smaller subdivisions such as school districts, ward, or blocks were seldom reported in exact figures, and no adequate estimate of their number can be made, but some idea of the intensity of the organization which was developed may be gained from such reports as that from Wisconsin, with 1,500 school-district chairmen; Iowa, with 90 per cent of the townships organized, and 3,500 as a conservative estimate of the number of "local representatives"; or of Washington, with 6,000 minute women, each ready to carry any message to her special group of women.

Not all the States achieved this degree of organization. In the summer of 1918 there were still perhaps a dozen States in which the organization had not made good headway, but these were chiefly in the South, where the problems of finance and tradition retarded women's work, or in the West, where the vastness of the distances to be covered made intensive organization difficult. On the other hand, in at least 17 of the State Divisions the goal of the Woman's Committee organization had been realized and the State offices could get in touch with practically every woman in the State when a message was received from headquarters.

The practical application of the organization plan and the spirit of its workers are illustrated in the letter of a county chairman from

one of the States, by no means the best organized, who wrote after the signing of the armistice:

I have about 300 women in my county whom I can reach through my main committee at from two to four hours' notice (and they, in turn, can reach our total county's female population). I had already notified them, after "Peace Day," that, although peace had been declared, we must consider that the coming months were a most critical time for our country, and that they must hold themselves ready to meet all calls of the Government with promptness. I stated that, until I was authorized by headquarters to give notice to disband, we should consider ourselves bound to our contract. I asked my committee to aid the United War Work Campaign, the Red Cross, the Child Welfare Bureau, to hold steadily to Food Conservation rulings, and to keep their subcommittees "alive and working."

Various means were employed by the States to secure this successful organization. Usually the temporary county chairmen were appointed by letter. In six States organizers went up and down the countryside stimulating, organizing, and explaining the purposes of the Woman's Committee. Almost every State chairman made trips throughout her State. Most of the State Divisions called State-wide conferences; in a number of divisions sectional conferences were held, and meetings of county units were frequent.

During the first year organization was greatly assisted by the members of the Woman's Committee, who personally visited, sometimes more than once, 32 State Divisions, making over 125 addresses to explain the work of the committee and urge upon women their national responsibilities.

In some State Divisions original or spectacular means were employed to interest the women in the committee's work. In Missouri, on three different occasions a tour of a section of the State was made by a "Woman's Committee special" train. On this were representatives of departments of the committee, of the Red Cross, and of the Food Administration. In the car was displayed an exhibit of the various departments and from it quantities of literature were distributed. At each town at which the special stopped, a public meeting was held and a unit organized.

Practically all of the work of organizing and stimulating local units was volunteer. Financial support was usually limited. Many of the State chairmen at the outset were not even given stenographic assistance and were obliged to carry on their work in longhand; sometimes they were quite untrained in public work, and in many cases they were women with household cares. The chairman of one of the largest and best-organized States once wrote:

We ask consideration for the fact that few of us are ladies of leisure, with a competent maid in the kitchen and no bread and butter problems to worry about; this letter I am doing myself. Incidentally, it is taking my whole morning and my breakfast dishes are standing.

Nevertheless, within a year from the appointment of the first temporary chairman, office organization had been brought to a high degree of efficiency and most of the State divisions were able to transmit the messages from national headquarters to local units by means of mimeographed bulletins, with the greatest rapidity. Many of them issued regular printed publications covering the work of the State Divisions, and excellent reports were received at the national headquarters of work actually to be spoken of in the past tense.

The greatest difficulty that the State Divisions had was that of financial support. At first the State chairmen and their executive committees paid many, and in some cases all, the expenses or secured contributions from women's societies or from individuals. By January, 1918, in 12 States the women's work was recognized as part of the State program for defense work and its expenses were defrayed by the State Council or from other public funds; and 19 State Divisions were receiving partial support from the State Councils. The other State Divisions, and those which did not receive full support from the State Councils, resorted to a variety of means to supply their needs. Frequently the chairmen paid their entire expenses, sometimes stenographic services were donated, or women's organizations and private individuals made contributions; county boards of supervisors aided the work of local units; in some States a small registration fee was charged; in addition, large amounts were raised by the women through various commercial enterprises, from issuing special editions of newspapers to vending Liberty potato chips on the street corners.

To what extent this necessity for financing themselves affected the success of the various State Divisions is a pertinent query. One can not be both a wage earner and a volunteer social worker unless one has independent means of support, without either the job or the work suffering. Yet a woman's organization is often forced to do that impossible thing, using up strength and energy that should go into service in making the money to pay the running expenses. When the public learns that woman's service is worthy of its hire, and demands the wherewithal to finance the machinery of woman's organizations, then and then only can women hope to match their endeavors against all comers in a fair field. Until that time they must be, to an extent, handicapped in their work, as a group seeking to raise themselves by their own boot straps.

This is a lesson that is learned slowly. As late as the end of the summer of 1918 there were 30 State Divisions of the Woman's Committee entirely or partially dependent upon donations and membership fees for support. The Illinois Division reported raising $82,000 during the year 1918. Nineteen State divisions received partial ex-

penses from the State Councils, and the same number were supplied with all the funds necessary for result. The largest amount contributed by a State Council was that allowed the Pennsylvania State Division, $27,000.

If any one of the women who served without reward daily in the offices of these State Divisions were to be asked about the work of the divisions she would say immediately and with heartiness that the work was not done by State offices or State officers, but that it was done by county officers. County officers, in turn, would say that it was done by the women, everywhere, who, for the first time called upon for such service, saw a vision of citizenship and strove to make it a reality.

Picture thousands of meetings such as this: A small church in a tiny town, down in a rugged hill country, where the women's faces are drab and the houses have never known paint. On the platform a small, simply clad country woman with a paper in her hand. It is her appointment as temporary chairman of the Woman's Committee in that village. In front of her, in straggly rows, sit 20 women, their eyes a bit strained. She reads the message and begins a set speech that she perhaps has learned. But suddenly, she breaks off, and just talks to those women, heart to heart, of her soldier boy who has marched away and of the burden that his marching lays upon her and upon them. One could not reproduce those talks. Each carried some version of the message of the Woman's Committee. Sometimes it was very far from that of the Committee in Washington. But the central thought was always the same: "Your country needs you, women! This is the way you can serve."

In learning what that way was, these women, and thousands upon thousands more, from those in the smallest sewing circle to those at the head of big civic movements, found a new conception of their relation to their Government, a new responsibility for carrying out its measures, that should long survive the war that gave them birth.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST TASK.

On May 8, just six days after its first meeting, the Woman's Committee forwarded to the State Divisions its first suggestions for war work. The subject was the promotion of thrift. There was nothing new in this subject to women. It certainly was part and parcel of their age-old job. And yet it sounded the keynote of the new America and in so doing brought into the business of government the older business of housekeeping. For thrift is not at home among munitions and battleships. It is a fireside quality.

Young nations and young people seldom save. It is when experience has taught one the cost of production and the loss of heritage that its value is seen. Necessity is the mother of appreciation as well as invention. When war brought us suddenly to the end of our days of surplus men saw that only by a wise and careful use of what we had on hand could supplies be made to meet demands. Suddenly they knew that thrift was conservation and not stinginess, as old America had thought. And these men, wise in their desperation, turned to that part of the community whose efforts to make ends meet in the smaller community of the home had taught them the ways thereof. Women had been expected to save for personal reasons. Now they were called upon to save for national reasons. The very asking raised woman's habit to a virtue, and with that raised woman's valuation of herself. It was fitting therefore that the first bulletin issued by the Woman's Committee should be an official recognition of the value and importance of thrift.

The next circular letter issued, "A New Way to Save Bread," gave a definite order for national thrift. In future, it said, bakeries would only deliver as many loaves of bread as the retail grocer ordered. It had been discovered that the retail grocer was returning to the wholesaler daily many loaves of bread too stale to use. Because the housekeeper did not order ahead the retailer could not estimate his demands, and, for fear of a shortage, kept oversupplied. Thousands of loaves of bread would be saved, it was said, by the full cooperation of the housewife, the baker, and the Food Administration.

Even before the men were called to arms it was made known that upon America must fall the burden of providing the Allies with

their daily bread. In order to do this with the wheat supply on hand it would be necessary for every American household to cut down its own consumption of white bread and substitute for it bread made from other grains. Nor was this all. The supply of meat, fats, and sugar must be made to meet the demands upon it by the use of substitutes. To bring these facts to the attention of the American people and to instruct them how to accomplish the results desired there was created a Food Administration with Mr. Herbert Hoover at its head.

Mr. Hoover had not intended to open his food campaign until the food bill passed Congress. Unknown to him, however, the President's letter indorsing the suggestion of proceeding at once with part of the food conservation program was given to the public. The campaign, therefore, was taken up at once. This program included an exact survey of the amount of food in the country, an investigation into the normal consumption, some control of storage and transportation, and the enrollment of a league of women who would pledge themselves to carry out the wishes of the President, the National Government, and the Food Administration. It was decided by the men to undertake the last proposition first. An intensive campaign to reach the housekeepers, to begin July 1 and to continue until July 15th, was at once announced. That campaign was to be preceded by elaborate publicity. It was, of itself, one of the most gigantic publicity schemes ever undertaken. For by reaching every housekeeper in the country and inducing her to sign the food cards and to agree to carry out the instructions of the Food Administration the purpose of the Administration would be thoroughly advertised, and a sentiment created in its favor.

The country was not ready for the food program. Congress was not ready. Neither was the Woman's Committee. For its members knew, as Mr. Hoover could not, that to do so extensive a piece of work, very intensive organization was necessary, and there had not been time to make such an organization. In addition to the publicity, there must be personal appeals, appeals through clubs, through churches, and even from door to door. Even then there would be questions to answer, complaints, and difficulties. The Committee wished to have a different pledge card. They wished a different way of handling the campaign. But Mr. Hoover was firm. It was his job, so it had to be done his way. The Woman's Committee therefore went ahead, attempting, as Dr. Shaw said, to "do the impossible, and as usual, doing it."

Since it was Mr. Hoover's plan to have the State Councils of Defense print and circulate the pledges and be in complete charge of the entire undertaking, the women in the State, county, and town organizations were asked to get in touch, immediately, with the men

in the State, county, and town councils. Every possible means of distributing the food pledges was to be employed. If possible, towns and cities were to be divided into districts, and a house-to-house canvass was to be undertaken. On the farms women were to be reached by automobiles, rural free delivery, or through the Extension Department of the Agricultural College. The actual signing was to take place after July 1, but everything should be in readiness to begin at that time. After the pledges were signed and returned to Mr. Hoover, there was to be returned to each signer a household tag to be placed in the window of the home, to show that its members were assisting in the conservation program. The Woman's Committee insisted that the window tag should be given to the signer when the pledge was taken, but Mr. Hoover ruled that the pledge must first be returned to him. It was also promised that the Food Administration would, from time to time, send the signers simple instructions for the prevention of household waste and definite information as to the particular foods it was most necessary to conserve.

Eight days had the State Divisions between the posting of these instructions and the beginning of a drive that was planned to reach every woman in this broad land. Surely this was an attempt at the impossible! But the Woman's Committee, though it knew not how far State organization had gone, nor the resources at the command of its women, never doubted that their loyalty and devotion would make up for every lack. "There was never a greater challenge," said Dr. Shaw, "to the womanhood of the country, than that made by the President of the United States to women for voluntary enrollment in this league for food conservation. It is the devotion, courage, and economy of the women of France to-day that is largely helping to keep her armies in the field and save the nation from destruction. We believe the American women will show as fine a spirit in this hour of need, and stand with the women of the allied countries in our fight for liberty and democracy."

It was more than a challenge, more than a compliment. As the announcement that thrift was vital to the winning of the war placed it side by side with so glorious a virtue as patriotism itself, so this enrollment of women in the food conservation enrolled them with the fighters.

The connection may seem far-fetched. The service asked is not commensurate. To give up wheat; to give up life—they do not fill the same measure. But they are of the same dimension. Each is a pledge; each is a necessary contribution to the good of the whole; each places the receiver in the position of debtor, though in degree, one is to the other as an inch compared to a mile.

It has been said that when the draft took the young men of the country, subtle psychology was employed, so that at no stage of the

process was there opportunity for a block or refusal. First the young men between certain ages were asked merely to register themselves. There was no obligation attached to that. There could be no logical objection to giving the Government certain information about oneself. A little later, numbers were drawn out of a bowl in Washington. There was no way to register objection to such a process. By the time the names of those holding the numbers were posted locally, it had been made known thoroughly that since there were many valid reasons for exemption from military service, these men would not necessarily be drafted. By the time the selective had passed the physical examiners and the draft boards and was really certified as a selected man, he stood apart from all his fellows. There was no opportunity at that point for united action by objectors. Finally, a few men, 25 at the most, were escorted to the train amid great admiration and appreciation, and while still in civilian clothes sent to a cantonment. It was impossible for such a small group to make a stand against the sentiment of a whole community. Whatever the feeling of the individuals composing it against the ultimate end and purpose of their journey, they could do nothing but move with the man in charge of them. At the cantonment again, each man was separately examined and listed, and finally placed. He was then under military law, a strange law and discipline he hardly understood. Before he knew it, he was becoming part of a big and complicated machine. As he acquired its motions, he acquired its attitude of mind. He became, in fact, a true soldier offering his life willingly to defend his country. There has been a great deal written about the operation of the draft law and the wonder of making a pacific people over into a great army, almost overnight. Yet all along the making there was due consideration of every quality and trait of man that might have stood in the way of success. Coercion was not used: but wit and diplomacy were subtly employed. All this, in spite of the fact that men were only asked to do what men have always done, defend their own.

Now when the Food Administration came to the women to enlist them in what might be called a Housewives Service, it was asking of a woman and a housewife what had never been asked of woman before in all the world. A woman's kitchen is her castle. All tradition of housekeepers was against a government coming in to tell her what she should do there. Woman is suspicious of pledges of any kind, yet here she was asked to give a blanket pledge that might lead her anywhere, or ask anything of her. A woman's obligation to feed her children is as strong with her as a man's duty to protect his wife; it is knit into her motherhood. Yet to keep this pledge she might have to do violence to that.

No subtle psychology, such as was used in enforcing the draft was employed to play upon these feelings, sentiments, and fears of hers. There was a brief week of brilliant publicity, attempting to reach her through papers which she might not read, clubs she might not attend, churches she might not see, and then she was asked, the woman away back in the farmhouse, in the tiny village, and in the slums of the city, as well as the club women and newspaper reader, to sign a paper that might mean anything or nothing.

For generations women have been left inside their homes, have been told their interests lay there, been denied expression of their opinions. Now, suddenly, a stranger with no official badge or standing, come nosing into her private affairs which tradition had told her were not connected with the public interest.

A week and a day had the workers in the Woman's Committee in which to educate these women on their new relation to the national interest, to develop in them the idea of national service, to explain the sudden importance of the housewife, to sketch the purport and the intent of the food pledge. A week and a day to reach and teach women to whom the isolation of the home had become almost a matter of religion, certainly a fetich.

Of course, it was unfair to the Woman's Committee. It was equally unfair to the women of the country. It was an arch application of the principle that men must decide and women must agree. Men had the authority to make the plans, women only knew how to do the work. That those who made the plan would attribute any failure to the work of the women and not to the plan, was but an added unfairness that inheres in any such division of labor. But there was nothing to do except what women have always done, their best under the circumstances.

Valiantly the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee went to work. Under almost as many plans as there were Divisions, they opened the campaign. That there was so much to report must ever be a miracle. In some places regular polls were opened at schoolhouses, under the impression that this might give the drive a more "official character." In 24 States the women made house-to-house canvasses. In still others they enlisted the assistance of rural mail carriers, and in others the policemen on the beat, while 15 States depended on newspapers and meetings to reach the women.

There were many obstacles to success besides the suddenness with which the campaign was announced. There was great resentment on the part of large numbers of women that the first move of the Food Administration was to ask them to give up white flour, instead of asking men to give up alcoholic beverages, whose manufacture required a large portion of the wheat supply. There were rumors of many kinds to combat, and misunderstandings of the purpose of

the Food Administration, to right. There was, above all, an insidious and vicious German propaganda. The word had been spread about in the poorer districts that the whole program of food conservation was directed against the poor, but that the rich would not have to save. Foreign women who could not read English had been told that the cards bound them to war service. In many localities, especially in Minnesota and Wisconsin, many of these women refused to sign. And even among the more intelligent it was said that Mr. Hoover was giving undue emphasis to the need for economy and that he was not fair in his rulings.

The importance of meeting such propaganda first hand, of correcting its evil effects and spreading the truth, can not be overestimated. The Food Pledge Campaign offered an opportunity for educational propaganda of the most effective kind. In that way alone, it more than paid for all the effort and time expended.

On August 16, an appeal to increase their efforts in securing signatures to food cards was made to the State Chairmen and the date of closing the drive was set for September 5. Five of the States that could not finish by that time were granted an extension of time.

Delay in organization was the cause of delay in returns from some States. In Colorado a lack of cards was a hindrance. The State Council printed only 25,000 cards. In order to complete the campaign, the Woman's Division needed 100,000 more. The matter of printing them was delayed so long that the Woman's Committee asked the State to discontinue the campaign. Duplication of orders, due to Mr. Hoover's desire to use every channel, sometimes resulted in so dividing responsibility that no one was "on the job." In two States there was a misunderstanding as to whether the campaign was to be conducted by the Woman's Committee or the Food Administration, or by the Post Office Department through its carriers.

The final report showed that 27 States completed the campaign by September 5; 12 States reported the drive unfinished up to that date, and 10 made no report at all. The State Council was in charge of the campaign in 14 States, the Woman's Committee in 31, and 4 made no report. There was full cooperation in 39 States, no cooperation in 5 States. In all there were distributed 5,223,850 cards.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties, the weaknesses in the plan, season of the year, and the lack of time provided for preliminary publicity, and, above all, the fact that the Woman's Committee had only been appointed some two months when the campaign opened, the women, knowing the long and tedious process of building up any organization, and realizing fully the size of their job, congratulated themselves upon having made so good a beginning. They knew it could be only a beginning.

The Woman's Committee work for the Food Administration did not cease with the end of this great task. Before the returns from the first drive were well in, the announcement of the second food drive was made. As Dr. Shaw said in her letter of September 8, "So rapidly does one event follow another in the intensive work of our State Divisions, we have scarcely time to think about it before the next call comes."

Although the organization for this second drive, which was known as the Clean-up Campaign, was to be under the Food Administration, it solicited the complete support of the Woman's Committee "as necessary to the largest degree of success." Dr. Shaw accordingly urged the women "that every possible help which the State Divisions could render the Food Administration be given." This the women of the State Divisions gave. The chairman of the Food Conservation Department of the State Divisions served on the State Executive Committee appointed by the State Food Administrator, and after the same manner, on every county and town food committee, were found members of the State Divisions, working as members also of the Food Administration. At the close of the drive the State Food Administrator of Florida attributed the success of the campaign to the "untiring and unselfish efforts of the women of the local units." In Missouri the State Food Administrator worked entirely through the State Division, asking the Food Conservation chairmen of State Divisions to his State conference, and depending upon these women to canvass the State. Doubtless this was true in many other States. In fact, thereafter, the Food Administration in the States largely utilized the machinery built by the Woman's Committee for the first drive. In some States there was even a definite understanding that the Food Conservation chairman of the State Division should serve as Home-Economics Director to the local Food Administration.

Between these local representatives of the Food Administration and the local units of the Woman's Committee it was necessary and profitable that there exist the closest relationship. One had the franking privilege and money for necessary expenses; the other had the volunteer workers necessary to distribute cards and leaflets, make window displays, and reach the individual householder. In this second campaign, under the direction of the State Food Administration, 6,360,090 names were secured.

"Rationing by force," Mr. Hoover once said, "would not only be an extremely difficult operation, but an extremely expensive one. If we take the costs of the English and French administrations and multiply our cost by the larger population, it would cost us between forty-five and fifty million dollars a year for the administration of the machinery and rationing. We have gained that end by spending

one and one-fourth million in printing and one-half million dollars in traveling expenses and propaganda generally. * * *"

Whether the voluntary conservation plan of the Food Administration would have been successful without the volunteer work of these women, one can not know. Mr Hoover goes on record as to its value, thus: "What has been done has been accomplished by us to a small degree. It has been accomplished in greater degree by the individual households of the country and by the seven million workers we have throughout the United States. Their devotion is one of the finest monuments of the war." Whether it would have been possible for the Food Administration to have organized these women workers through the local food administrators is also problematical. Federal appointees in a community might have organized, enthused, instructed, and led an army of women there to canvass the housewives. Whether they could will never be known, since the Food Administration found to hand the local units of the Woman's Committee already organized, already instructed, already enthused, and used that army to carry through the Food Conservation program on the voluntary principle.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ACID TEST.

To understand the significance of four large letter files of the Woman's Committee, indexed under the title, "Tender of Service," it is necessary to go back in memory and relive those feverish days when all America was divided between those who fought and those who held back. Among the former were the thousands of women who offered themselves freely and wholly for any service that might be needed of them.

Into the reception room at 1814 N Street came these offers. Only the woman herself, intensely one of them, who patiently read and replied to them, could give a vivid picture of them, written as they were on every sort of paper, in every sort of hand, coming as they did from every kind of women, from the trained novelist, author of six successful books, who was wiling to do anything, to the woman immured in a hospital for sick minds, who hoped there would be something "even I can do." There were women in far-away farmhouses who would adopt a child if that would help; women who could cook, renovate soldiers' clothing, run a tractor; there were other women who were statisticians, radiographers, experts and specialists in various lines, who offered to give up good salaries and come "for expenses only," and there were the mothers and grandmothers, both trained and untrained, with grown-up families, who were "ready to go back on active service."

In order to be able to answer these letters, it was found necessary to issue a booklet, "War Work for Women," in which were listed many opportunities for service—paid or volunteer—at home or abroad, which were open to women. This booklet passed through three editions, the second of which, both in numbers and bulk tripled the first, and the third of which tripled the second.

There were other letters which the handbook could not answer. One of the duties of the Information Department, of which Miss Elizabeth Green was chief, was to help these women realize the importance of much work that was not listed as war work. Teaching, farm work, home making—these were suddenly of more importance, or at least their importance loomed up more, than ever before. These women, hundreds of them, had to be told that women's

real war work was to keep the country normal and to preserve civic and home life. They must intesify their efforts in behalf of child welfare and social service. Instead of dropping the old familiar duties, they must do them better and with less expense and fewer servants than ever before. Perhaps the Woman's Committee did nothing more important than sending this message to its millions of members. To one of the teachers who was offering war service, Dr. Shaw wrote:

> There is nothing more important than that the standard of education be kept up and that every possible inducement to keep children in school should be extended to the community. There is no better inducement than to provide a teacher who is not only excellent in her work, but patriotic and loyal to the Government during this time of world struggle; and my advice to you is to stay right where you are; or, rather, remain in your present profession. There are plenty of women who are not capable of being teachers, but can do the other kinds of work that are demanded. There is not a sufficient demand for the services of women to make it necessary for those in the teaching profession to give up their duties for work that is less important. Personally, I think the very best work that woman can do to-day is to see to it that the children of the Nation are not deprived of proper training and educational advantages. The industries of the country are making constant inroads on the schools and every possible effort is being put forward to make the children leave the schools and go into the factories and other places. What we need is the kind of teacher who will keep constant hold upon them.

One can fancy the feelings of the recipient of such a letter. Moved, as her brother, by the need of her country, fired like him with a noble desire to help, called like him to sacrifice self for the larger good, she was told that she must only "stand and wait." Perhaps the realization, hers for the first time, that her "job"—so long thought to be drudgery—was one of real service, was a recompense for disappointment that will survive the war.

It is difficult, too, to recall how serious the need for these tenders seemed in that far ago of 1917. In two years England had needed more than 1,000,000 women to step into men's shoes. America was building plans on the experience of her exhausted allies. Every offer should, then, be catalogued. It must be available the moment the need came. England was searching for other women to take the places of her last million men to go. America should be ready with substitutes when that time came for hers.

The women who thus offered were the volunteer workers of the land. They were of those who fought. But there were other women, millions of them, who wanted to serve some way, somehow, but were not free to offer and did not know how to offer. They, too, must be found and catalogued. And there was the third body of women, those who must be led to make the offer. Fortunately those who fight desire ever to lead those who wait.

This war was not to be wholly fought by volunteers. That fact was clearly determined by the adoption of our draft system. The same idea circulated through every line of war endeavor. "Each must do his part" was the slogan and the conviction of those who fought.

Carrying out this idea, New York State decided to find out what every man and woman could do to serve. Accordingly she took an official census of her adult population. Other States might have followed her example, but the Council of National Defense sent out a request that the States should not take a registration, since it might interfere with the registration for military service, contemplated by the War Department.

This did not apply to women's work. Indeed, many of the women's organizations had already begun a census of their own numbers. One organization was taking a census of women generally, not only with an idea of gathering the women into its membership, but also with this idea of directing the women to the sort of work they could do.

Any census to be useful to the Government should be taken under official auspices. One of the first subjects to be discussed, therefore, by the Woman's Committee, was the advisability of its undertaking such a registration of women. The Woman's Committee had been appointed under an act creating a Council of National Defense, with an Advisory Commission, to survey the resources of the country. An important resource of the country, according to the experiences of other warring nations, was its woman power. This was a resource perhaps soon to be tapped. Clearly the Committee should survey this resource. No better way to make this survey could be devised than by a volunteer registration of the women, of their abilities and their willingness to contribute these abilities or to take training. As one State Division expressed it, "A merchant going into a new business takes an inventory. The Woman's Committee is going into a new business. Its stock consists of the willingness and the ability of the women of the country to serve. It will therefore take an inventory. It will call this inventory a registration."

The Council of National Defense did not advocate a national registration at once. The Woman's Committee thought it wise to delay a nation-wide registration until organization was more complete. Many States, however, were clamoring to go ahead with their own registration. They needed it for local purposes. In some States plans for it were already under way. The Woman's Committee, with the authority of the Council of National Defense decided therefore, to leave the decision as to the time of taking a registration to each State Division, advocating it in principle and providing a broad plan of procedure which could be adapted to the conditions in each State.

As usual the first question involved was one of expense. Even though all labor was contributed, even though the registration was taken at public polling places, even though the publicity was another free-will offering of the press, there would still be the cost of the registration blanks, summary cards, and supplies, to be considered. Printing these by the millions would cost a large sum. After several conferences between the Committee and the Council, it was finally agreed that the Council would print 500,000 of these cards, which should be apportioned among the State Divisions on the basis of population as reported in the last census. After these were exhausted, additional cards were printed by a private firm, at a cost of $2.50 per thousand, the States purchasing these direct. The cards, of course, were to be the same for every State. The model was drafted after various conferences with representatives of the Census Bureau. The card listed every possible occupation that a woman could follow and asked information as to her willingness to give service, the amount of time she could give, whether it was to be paid or free service, whether it could be given overseas, or at any place in this country, or was limited as to locality. The cards also provided information as to whether the registrant would take training for work and what sort of training she desired.

The work of the registration was to be in the charge of a small and efficient State Committee. Registration was not assigned to any one society nor were registrations to be taken by any individual society, all societies merging their work of this kind under the official Woman's Committee. The State was to place the work in the counties under a county chairman.

It was planned to keep the cards in local headquarters, sending summaries to the State headquarters, who would send them on to the Washington headquarters of the Committee. The form for this summary was suggested by the Census Bureau.

In the meantime, while these plans were being framed and arrangements made for printing the cards, the States and women within the States were clamoring to register. "We can not," wrote one chairman, "hold them back."

As soon as the plans were completed, in four States a special day was set aside by the governor as registration day for women. In these and several other States where active plans were begun at once, publicity as extensive as that for the food drive was undertaken by the women. Every meeting of women within the State boundary was addressed by a corps of trained women speakers; every local paper was sent material stating the purpose of the registration. While many women were eager and enthusiastic at the opportunity to place themselves on record there were many thousands to whom the idea

was so novel and so out of line with all prejudices and ideas that much speaking and writing was necessary before it was understood.

There were the same difficulties to be overcome that there were in the food drives. In a few States some women failed to understand the purpose of the registration; others feared it might mean compulsory service. In certain States it was hampered by the apparent overlapping caused by the activities of individual organizations who were taking registrations for the purpose of enrolling members. German propaganda was not quiet. In some quarters it was comparatively easy to make women think that this was a trap whereby the women, who stated they could do paid work of some kind, would render their husbands liable for military service by disclosing their own ability to support themselves. In others the women were told registration meant being sent at once to France. These very difficulties but added to the zest of the work, for they indicated the need for some method of reaching these very doubting Thomases with positive propaganda, not only as to the war but as to Jane's part in waging it. The educational value of all these drives far outweighed every other result. This the workers, who came first-hand into contact with all opposition, knew better than anyone.

One amusing feature of the registration was the interest taken in it by the men. This spread all the way from the intelligent, loyal, and enthusiastic help given by editors and public speakers to the emphatic objections registered by the old farmer who "set his foot down flat" that his "old woman" should not register. It was amazing how many husbands did not wish their wives to register. Some of them were frank. She was his cook and he could not spare her. Others scented an invasion of masculine authority. Perhaps a man's flour barrel was not his private business, but his wife most surely was, and not even Uncle Sam should levy on the time that belonged rightfully to him.

By September, 1917, definite dates for registration of women for service had been set in 15 States. By the next spring it had been held in 9 more. The national chairmen of the Department of Registration then advised the State Divisions in which the work had not been undertaken to defer the work until more "returns" had been compiled and analyzed in order that the experience already gained in the States where the work had been done might be made available for their use. Several State Divisions which had already undertaken registration, however, continued to add to their number of cards, and at the time of the signing of the armistice, a total of over 3,375,000 registrants had been reported. The most notable record was made by Michigan, which succeeded in registering 98 per cent of the women of the State. In two States a record was kept of those refusing to sign, thus making the census more complete.

In no instance was registration limited to a day, although it often began or focused around one registration day. In 14 States such days were set by gubernatorial proclamation. In Rhode Island and New York women had been included in the compulsory military census. In Louisiana the date was set by act of legislature, and registration was proclaimed compulsory, but no penalty was attached for failure to comply with the law.

Opposition to taking any registration of the women was presented by some State Councils who felt that an amateur registration would be worse than none. Elsewhere industrial conditions made such a registration seem unwise.

In general, two methods for carrying out the work were employed. In some States registration booths were opened either in churches, schoolhouses, or regular polling places, and in a few districts permanent registration booths were opened in city or county offices or in department stores. In other States a house-to-house canvass was adopted. Most States combined the two methods, leaving to the local county and town chairmen the choice of the one best adapted to her community.

No State Divisions undertook the registration of the women with more preparation and attention to detail than did the Illinois Division. It began its plans almost as soon as it was organized and developed them slowly and carefully. "The more deeply we have studied into the problems and possibilities of registration," wrote one of the women in charge, "the wider its scope expands. We are beginning to appraise our work not as a temporary war-time expedient but as a part of the permanent texture of the new social fabric which we are weaving. My ambition is to register every woman in Illinois—to conserve and make effective the new spirit of service abroad in the State—that no woman may feel that she is overlooked. I feel to-day, that the work of the registration committee is fundamental and that all the other activities of the Woman's Committee are built upon that." Certainly the registration taken by the Illinois State Division was thorough, and doubtless to the success of its registration may be credited much of the success of its war program.

Early in the study of this question it must have been apparent to any woman worker that no one plan or undertaking could so clearly or so definitely make plain to woman her place and the need of her in the war and social work of her Nation. Merely a serious reading of the registration card, listing as it did among the various occupations those noted in the United States Census as "ungainful occupations," must have made many a woman realize suddenly and with force how much of a producer she was, how important to the great needs of a people at war, as well as to a family in peace. An inventory of her equipment, manual and mental, must have given

many another woman whose hands had long lain idle cause for thought. The long list of occupations in which instruction was available doubtless started many others on the road to usefulness. And women who searched themselves diligently were surely able to render better service than before.

To return to Illinois and her intensive preparation for this registration: No less than 10,000 registrars were trained in special schools. A manual was published for their use. The purpose of registration was widely advertised in the press and by posters and fliers. Further impetus and effect was given to the registration by the fact that the registrants had been made thoroughly familiar with the opportunities for service then available. A list of industrial plants that would train workers was at hand and information as to the courses in Red Cross work, home economics, occupations for the handicapped, dramatics, wireless, motor driving, aviation, and engineering was given at once to the applicant.

Other States that reported special training for registrars were Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Missouri.

One of the most valuable results to be expected from registration would be the assignment of volunteers to positions of definite usefulness, and the wise guidance of girls and women who were seeking to serve their country. To undertake that work, many States had a Director of Volunteers and paid workers, a placement bureau, or some person whose business it was to see that women were placed in touch with the work they were willing to do. In Illinois the local labor market was studied in order that registrants might be directed to places where volunteer or paid employment might be obtained. During one month 297 names were recorded on application lists and 118 applicants placed in positions. Missouri opened employment bureaus in every town of over 5,000 population. From the registration in Kansas City alone the Civil Service Commission was supplied with the names of 250 stenographers who took the examination. There a plan was so carefully worked out that information was immediately available to registrants. Volunteers were referred to the Red Cross and Y. W. C. A., and applicants for training were told where to get it. Philadelphia reported in one month 56 volunteers and 276 paid workers in 32 occupations and referred 450 more to the Department of Agriculture.

Many were the uses made of the registration. In a number of States it furnished data which enabled draft boards to secure clerical help and committees to recruit workers for patriotic drives and the Woman's Land Army. In one State the registration cards were used by the Food Administration as furnishing the only true list which would insure reaching every household, and in another a "rent-a-room" campaign was assisted by a reference to the cards.

One of the most valuable points on the registration card was an item indicating "training desired." With these requests as an index of the needs of the State, it was possible to provide classes for those who expressed a wish for special training. This work, handled in some States by a department and in some by a subcommittee on "Courses of Instruction," was also taken up by States which had no registration. Twenty-five State Divisions reported that they had established or helped to secure courses of training to fit women for self-support, and especially for war work. In some cases the State Division organized classes and provided teachers; in others, special rates were secured with commercial colleges for girls who registered through the Woman's Committee; in other States educational authorities were persuaded to establish the courses desired, and the Philadelphia unit secured the opening of an "Emergency High School" to meet the need for special training.

The courses offered varied from the regular classes of high school, business college, and university, enlarged and modified to suit the need, to emergency classes established in houses or other convenient centers in cities, or small evening groups in rural communities, taught by some resident. The range of subjects covered was amazingly wide and gave convincing evidence of the immense increase in opportunities for women with special training. The classes included 45 lines of endeavor—from business English to farming, and from dietetics to handling freight traffic.

In addition to establishing classes the State Division made known opportunities which already existed. Five States reported the publication of directories, listing courses of training available, and others gave newspaper publicity to such opportunities, and directed young women to vocational classes.

The idea of securing women workers in large numbers to replace men in industry undoubtedly held first place, not only in newspapers, but in the minds of most official war workers in the fall of 1917. Many were the articles and much the discussion over the unusual and new occupations open to women. The recruiting of the woman power for industry was an important object of registration. Had America ever been faced with a labor shortage, this registration would have been very valuable. As it happened, its usefulness in this direction was only occasional. Such instances as those above cited are interesting in the possibilities they open up, rather than as achievements, since if figured by percentages they would have no great bearing on the industrial situation. The assurance the registration gave of our great reserve in woman power, was helpful. It was encouraging, of course, to get such a report as this from a small Florida town: "If every man was called to the colors the registration

shows that women could fill every place, from engineers to the United States Detective Bureau."

But over and above these valuable services, over and above what it did for women themselves to enable them to be thus articulate about their own desires, over and above what it did to the solidarity of women to be thus recognized as givers, was the bringing to the attention of the whole country, men as well as women, the particular value of women's particular contribution to the social structure. It was a first step, and the most necessary, in mobilizing the women to form what has been called the "second line of defense," but what might more aptly be called the "Home Guards." This army, mighty and organized, was not to support the first line if it broke down. Defense, all defense, even home defense, belongs to the Army. The women did not invade the military field. If the allied armies failed, our world crumbled. The women could not attempt to stop that enemy. But there is another enemy that is always abroad. It is the enemy that attacks our social structure through poverty, through license, through disease. When war occupies the thought and employs the energies of men, then do these enemies become more dangerous. It is against these enemies that the Home Guard ever stands. In peace times this guard is made up of men and women, standing shoulder to shoulder. When war not only draws away the young idealists of the Nation to foreign shores, but when it also takes the older men out of those ranks to organize draft boards and float loans, then must the women rally to the vacant places, the places in the forces that stand guard against these enemies within—who, while the defender is away, would rob him of that which he would defend.

This was primarily a war for our form and kind of civilization. Every soldier, however much or little he knew about the causes of the war, felt that. The women would have been worse than slackers; they would have been deserters if they had failed to keep intact that civilization for which their men died.

"The disintegrating forces," says a letter asking the registration of women physicians, "are already at work, and we realize increasingly as the world conflict continues that we shall need all the intelligence, all the training, and experience of the women of the State to repair the damages to our social structure wrought by the war."

To find out women who could serve in this Home Guard was the real purpose of the registration. It not only found the women doctors, the women who could go back into paid service, but enlisted hundreds of thousands of women for service in the ranks of the volunteer. One State Division made a special canvass for social workers, training women, and then placing them. There was not a State in which the work was conducted that registration cards did not supply great numbers of such volunteers for social and Red Cross

work. In Denver, Colo., Red Cross workers were increased 300 per cent by this means.

From the very moment that the housekeeper saw listed as "occupations" cooking and sewing and writing and cleaning, she saw that her time had a social value. She went home and rearranged that time, so that a small part of it, at least, might be given to her country. Then she enlisted in this Home Guard. By this process was the "volunteer" developed. Registration in the first place made women value themselves; in the second, it recognized the importance of the volunteer worker.

Many were the women who had been waitresses, undertakers, grocers, plumbers, and many more who had been physicians, nurses, and teachers, who came back into service, some to draw salaries, many to make a free-will offering of time and training. But many, many more were there who came to give an hour, two, or three hours a day or a week, to this Home Guard work, if only to fill up the ranks and make the array against the enemy as formidable as possible.

The great task of the Woman's Committee was to reach these volunteers, to bring them to the program and get the program to them. To do this, it had developed a complex organization. The "acid test of how our organization works" said one of the committee, "is registration."

By it the committee was not only able to discover whether it had reached these women, but also whether the women could and would fit into the program. Though the total number of women registering does not give accurate information on this point, it can be said to indicate the degree to which the organization was successful in this undertaking. Even more than that, probably, it indicated the attitude of the women, and this, after all, was the important thing, since out of it was born the success or failure of a plan so gigantic, so all-inclusive, as that contemplated by the Woman's Committee. When women plodded through many feet of snow to register, even walking upon skiis because other mode of travel was impossible, when they drove their wagons through mud to the hubs, to tell of their ability and desire to serve, when other women a thousand miles away drove through blinding dust storms to perform the same mission, and such reports were multiplied by the hundreds and the thousands, surely the Committee was justified in thinking that its organization had stood the acid test.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COMMITTEE'S DEPARTMENTS OF WORK.

THEIR SCOPE AND FUNCTIONS.

The whole tradition and habit of women has been to do public work by the program and department method. When women began to do volunteer civic and welfare work they saw so much to do, and everything was seemingly of such importance, that they divided the field into sections, distributing their workers between these sections. These workers surveying the work to be done and the obstacles in the way of doing it were content to select the most obvious improvement and plan a slow campaign for it, satisfied with what measure of success was forthcoming, since everything accomplished was that much to the good.

It took the war attitude of mind and some experience with definite jobs to be done against time to train these women in the "quota and standard" process. As a result of this training, however, they soon acquired the quickness of decision and the adroitness of tactics that have long been employed so successfully in business. These qualities they incorporated into their method of procedure, but they did not abandon the departmental plan. It is with this departmental plan, how the departments developed their scope and programs, and how they functioned at Washington, that this chapter deals.

When the plan of work of the Woman's Committee was finally approved August 2, 1917, the departments of work had been narrowed down to the following: Registration for Service, Food Production and Home Economics, Food Administration, Women in Industry, Child Welfare, Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies, Health and Recreation, Educational Propaganda, Liberty Loan, Home and Foreign Relief. Each department had been placed under the direction of one member of the committee, with an executive chairman or secretary, who had the responsibility for directing the work within these departments, according to the scope and function of the department as determined by the plan of work or action of the Committee. Responsibility for seeing that each department performed its function and yet did not extend its scope, rested with the executive whose work it was to see that the complete program of the committee was being carried out. This responsibility

was at first vested in an executive secretary. Later it was vested in the Resident Director, to which position Miss Hannah J. Patterson, of Pittsburgh, Pa., was elected by the Committee, having previously been appointed a member of the Committee by the Council of National Defense.

It is important that the reader keep clearly in mind the distinction between the departments of the Woman's committee, such as the department of Food Production or Child Welfare, and a Federal department, such as that of Agriculture or Labor. With these Federal departments and with the national war agencies, such as Red Cross and Commission on Training Camp Activities, the committee's departments of work sought relationship as described in chapter 2. The departmental plan of work here described was not, however, dependent upon this relationship. It had been tried in prewar days by many organizations but the story of how it worked under war conditions and Federal direction forms a pertinent chapter in any history of women's organized effort to serve. Take, for instance, the Department of Home and Foreign Relief, with Miss Wetmore as chairman. While women by the hundred thousand were devoting their entire time to this work, a committee charged with the duty of coordinating women's work must needs have such a department, but very shortly it was seen that this work was being so well and so thoroughly done by other agencies, that the committee had only to ascertain who was doing it and direct the women of the country to the proper agencies. This department logically then, became, as its chairman said, "purely a coordinating department." To know that the work was done, the field covered, to report this to the Council of National Defense, to tell the women of the country that it must be done and how it was being done, this was its program; thus was its duty accomplished.

Neither was it necessary for the Department of Food Production and Home Economics, of which Mrs. Stanley McCormick was chairman, and Miss Helen Atwater executive chairman, to outline a general plan of work. Since the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration each had specific tasks in which it wished to interest the women of the country, the function of this department of the Woman's Committee was to urge the State Divisions to assist in each plan, drive, and request made by these Federal agencies, or their State agents, to stimulate activity in the States along the lines of work initiated by these Federal agencies and to promote close cooperation between the State agencies and the chairman of the food departments of the State Divisions.

This Department of Food Production urged and secured close cooperation between the Home Economics Extension Service of the

State Agricultural Colleges and the chairmen of the food departments of the State Divisions. Even before the war emergency, the work of this Extension Service was deeply interested in food conservation. In the previous seven years several thousand canning and home demonstration clubs had been organized and there was a membership of some 300,000 members, all of whom had been taught to conserve fruits and vegetables by approved modern methods. This extension work was carried on under a State Director of Extension Work who usually worked in cooperation with the Agricultural College. Through these State Directors of extension work the Department of Agriculture was placing Home Demonstration agents in such counties as could comply with the provisions demanded by the act of Congress, known as the Smith-Hughes Act, according to which 150 women in the county must organize into a Home Demonstration Association, each member paying dues of $1, and a certain portion of the expenses of the County Home Demonstration agent must be raised by the local people, her salary of $1,800 to be paid by the Department of Agriculture.

The chairmen of the food department of the State Divisions urged the local units to furnish the enthusiasm and backing necessary for securing these demonstration agents, with the result that many such county Home Demonstration agents were placed through the efforts of local units of the Woman's Committee.

So closely allied was the work of the two food departments, that of Food Production and Home Economics, under Mrs. McCormick and Miss Atwater, and that of the Food Administration under Miss Tarbell and Mrs. Lamar, as cochairmen, that it is impossible to divide them in discussing their scope or achievements. Loosely speaking, that of the former was to provide an avenue between the Department of Agriculture and the housekeepers of this country, and the latter was to promote the activities for women proposed by the Food Administrator. The Department of Food Production, however, found itself closely allied with the Food Administration of the States. In fact, a certain type of work undertaken in one State by the Food Production Department, in another would be done by the Food Administration Department.

The cooperation of this department was also sought by the Woman's Land Army of America, which organized groups of women to work in agriculture and provide suitable living conditions. Since agriculture and labor conditions vary greatly in the different sections of the country and the desirability of such work as the Land Army planned must likewise vary, the department decided to call the attention of its State chairmen to the Land Army program and leave to the States the decision as to whether formal cooperation with the Land Army was desirable. It also suggested that in deciding the

question the State chairman consult the State Director of Agricultural extension, the farm-help specialist of the United States Department of Agriculture, and whatever other official agencies were concerned.

There is, therefore, no way of checking up exactly what this department accomplished, but as a Woman's Committee member once said, "War work is not done for glory; it is not report food. Who cares to whom it is credited, so long as it is done." Such work may be thankless, but it is far from negligible. Without the constant, steady fire of literature and information by this department, without the holding together by the State Divisions of a large body of women ever ready for any order that might come, and without the steady pressure upon woman to serve and save, which the State Divisions exerted, the remarkable totality of food work, the canneries, kitchens, and displays, courses of study, even if achieved under the leadership of the agents of the Department of Agriculture, or the Food Administration, would be much less. Whether these State agents were members of the executive board of the State Divisions or not, though in many cases they were, the work in the committees was done by local members of the Woman's Committee and the psychological pressure upon the community came from them.

Two very definite pieces of work were undertaken by this department from headquarters. One was in connection with the conservation of food. This department foresaw that with the continuance of the war, women would be forced further to conserve food and labor. Preparatory to giving women information as to ways to meet the emergency, there was made by Ira Lowther Peters, under direction of Miss Atwater, a survey of cooked food agencies, the results of which have been published in a report that brings together valuable data on this subject. The other was in connection with the production of food. In April, 1918, the department secured Miss Grace Tabor, a specialist on the subject of planting and gardening, as a field representative of this department and sent her upon a tour of one of the States, in which she emphasized the value of liberty gardens, giving practical suggestions for their organization and for actual planting and care.

There was one department whose sole business was to be "on the job." In some communities the very creation of such a department and the announcement that it was "on the job" was enough to remove any necessity for its taking action. Such was the Department of Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies, of which Mrs. Philip North Moore was chairman. The title itself was a reminder and a sermon. In war time existing institutions for the relief of social and economic abuses have greater burdens to carry than in peace. There is a tendency, however, for regular contribu-

tors to these charities to withdraw their support that they may give more to the victims of war. As a result local charities and philanthropic measures suffer. To prevent this the Woman's Committee asked its State Divisions to appoint chairmen of this department. Forty-two States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii complied. By sending word to the women of the country, millions of them, by way of State Divisions and county chairmen, that they were to see that there was no let down of the agencies that a slow society had built up for its own protection—the church, the charity associations, the social center, the welfare board, the hospital, the orphanage, and by having in each community some one woman as local chairman of this department who must keep her eyes on the situation, ready to enlist the whole Woman's Committee if a sign of such let down appeared, this department undoubtedly prevented such a contingency.

Just one instance may suffice to show how this department functioned. In one small town of 12,000 people, a local chairman of this department stood guard. She hardly understood herself just what her duty was. But when the spring of 1918 came, the city council of that town decided to drop from its salary roll the police matron, who had for some years been looking after the young factory girls of that town, accomplishing the sort of preventative work, the ultimate result of which can never be estimated. The excuse for dropping the matron was "war economy." Thereupon the chairman called a meeting of representative people, both men and women, and a great protest against dropping the police matron went up. The council was obdurate, but the people of the town raised the salary of the matron by subscription and kept her as the secretary of the Public Welfare Board. It might be said that all this would have been done had there been no Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies Department in the local Woman's Committee of that town, but experience has shown that for all except the self-constituted and usually inept custodian of public welfare there must be some authority back of leadership of this kind. In this case authority had been furnished the agitator by her relationship to this department of a Federal Woman's Committee.

In order to take up the work of this department intelligently, a suggestion was sent from headquarters that State divisions should make surveys of philanthropic agencies. Answers to the questionnaire showed that few social agencies were suffering from diminished financial support, but that practically all were crippled through lack of trained workers, many of whom had entered service in connection with the Army here and abroad. In order to meet this shortage, this department urged the establishment of courses of instruction for social-service workers and the recruiting of volunteers. The work of

this department was necessarily adapted to the needs of the local agencies with which it was concerned. In Chicago its adaptation meant the publication of a social-service directory, which gave a simple classification of social-service agencies and told how to use them, the establishing of training classes for volunteers, the opening of a volunteer placement bureau, which averaged nearly 100 workers placed per month, the holding of meetings for social-service workers, and the preparation of a detailed State program. In Louisiana it meant using the machinery of the Woman's Committee, at the request of the State Commission for the Blind, for a house-to-house canvass to locate the blind and induce them to take the training that was offered. Through stimulating such activities as these, this department aroused interest in social-service work, which promises increased and more effective support in the future.

One department, denominated "cooperative" in the beginning, ultimately became purely recruiting. The process by which this happened to the Liberty loan department, created to cooperate with the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee of the Treasury Department, and how this department was used to recruit the workers for the Liberty loans, has been told in chapter 2.

Under a large and comprehensive name, the Health and Recreation Department, with Mrs. Philip North Moore at its head, had a very definite task to do. Its scope was not as wide as its title implied. It had first been called the Department for Safeguarding Moral and Spiritual Forces. After a survey of the field, and the agencies employed in it, the name was changed and its function narrowed to cooperation with the Commission on Training Camp Activities, in providing wholesome recreation in camps and camp activities, and in taking steps to prevent a lowering of moral standards as a result of the war.

This cooperation took place, for the most part, through the State divisions and local units. The reason for this is apparent. Successful cooperation was dependent on the harmony existing between the two parties doing the actual work. At the same time, other national associations interested in providing recreation for men in service, who had no State or local machinery of their own, were enabled to use the machinery of the State divisions.

A very good example of the way in which this department cooperated with the other organizations is given in the work of Miss Mary Woods Hinman. Miss Hinman served as a field secretary of the War Camp Community Service and also as field representative of the Woman's Committee. When she went into a community to organize recreation clubs or facilities for the soldiers or sailors in that community or a near-by camp, she brought together the women of the lo-

cal unit of the Woman's Committee and the work of the War Camp Community Service. Miss Hinman's reports are a study in cooperation and the harmonizing of many elements to the same end, looking after the welfare of the soldier.

In the work of safeguarding the Nation's morals, cooperation was likewise left with the State Divisions, but the department urged them to combat any vicious elements that tended to become active, and encouraged protective work for girls. Since local conditions differed so greatly not only between cantonments and States but also between localities within a State, it was not deemed possible for a national department to do more than urge and advise, but there was wide opportunity for the State and local departments to initiate any new work and perform the functions of the department. In many cases they interpreted these functions so definitely that definite results were reported. In Ohio, for instance, the State Division was instrumental in securing reformatories and detention hospitals for girls and women. A most interesting example of the application of the general departmental suggestion to a local need was the investigation conducted by the Connecticut Health and Recreation Department, that resulted in the addition of seven policewomen to the State force, their salaries being paid by the council. The department also suggested that educational work in sex hygiene be undertaken by the State Divisions. How educational such department work may be is evidenced by the fact that out of the work of the Social Hygiene and Social Morality Committee of the Minnesota State Division has developed a State Social Hygiene Commission.

All in all, the Health and Recreation Department furnishes as good an example as one could ask of the effectuality of the departmental plan in accomplishing actual results, in educating and arousing women's opinion, and in making clear the need for reform.

The case of the Child Welfare Department is distinctly different from that of other departments. This department stands by itself, in that it formulated, together with the Children's Bureau, a complete and definite plan, which it asked the State Divisions to execute. This it was enabled to do both because it was so fortunate in its relations to the Children's Bureau and because its work lent itself to such a program. Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles was chairman of this department of the Woman's Committee, and Miss Julia Lathrop, known the country over as the Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, was asked to be executive chairman. She accepted with the understanding that the work of this department of the Woman's Committee should be handled by an executive secretary, under her direction. Later, when Miss Lathrop considered it advisable to withdraw from the executive chairmanship, Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto came from the University of

California to be the executive chairman. The cooperation between the Woman's Committee and the Children's Bureau continued as close and as satisfactory as though Miss Lathrop were still chairman, instead of consulting engineer. Such in truth she was, from start to finish, to the Child Welfare Department of the Woman's Committee.

This cooperation brought out one of the great advantages of the Woman's Committee plan of work. It was meant to provide a meeting place for the volunteer and the professional. Of the professional there must of necessity be a limited number; usually they must work on salaries. Their deprecation and their fear of the volunteer is usually very great. They suspect her lack of training, her inaccuracy, her irresponsibility. On the other hand, the volunteer chafes at the slowness and the devotion to detail of the professional. She aches to be doing something; she is impatient of perfection. She thinks a percentage of improvement worth any amount of effort.

Alone, neither is entirely effective. Too often the volunteer does quickly what turns out to be the wrong thing; too often the professional does the right thing, too late to accomplish any effectual good. If both can be brought together—the professional to make the plan, the volunteer to execute it, results are in sight. It was the privilege of the Woman's Committee to make this possible.

In September, 1917, the Federal child labor law, which was afterwards declared unconstitutional, went into effect. The first plan of the Child Welfare Department was to see that these children who, by this law, were no longer permitted to work, were sent back to school. Inquiries as to the number of children out of school were sent to all the units. The local Child Welfare Committees were asked to ascertain if scholarships were needed for these children. In many States the committees attempted to see that all children were kept in school.

The aim of the department from the first was to create a demand for a better standard for child welfare. The need for medical inspection and public-health nurses was emphasized. Day nurseries for the babies of working mothers were in some places established.

As the war continued and its effect on the children of other countries was studied the Children's Bureau decided to profit by the experience of England and France, and avoid the death and morbidity which the war had brought to their children. It was apparent to all but the most obtuse that when one generation offers itself upon the battle field efforts to improve and increase the next generation by lowering the child death rate and by raising the standard of health are imperative if the population is not to be greatly depleted. Cer-

tain facts brought out by the draft as to illiteracy and health, also brought home to the thinking women the need for work in this direction. Above all, the fact that children are usually the first to suffer from the blight of war, from high prices, unwise patriotism, and relaxed parental supervision, made a special program of child welfare a legitimate war necessity second only in importance, to use the President's words, "to the measures required to meet the needs of the combatants." Accordingly, Miss Lathrop and Dr. Peixotto planned a complete program to be known as Children's Year. This program included public protection of maternity and infancy; mothers' care for elder children; enforcement of all child-labor laws; and full schooling for all children of school age; recreation for children and youth, abundant, decent, and protected from any form of exploitation.

That the whole program should be completed in a year was not intended, but that the impetus given by this start would cause a similar program to be carried forward for other years was hoped. The greatest value of "Children's Year" would be, after all, educational. The program was divided into three big drives—the Weighing and Measuring test, the Recreation drive, and the Back-to-School campaign. It is not the part of this chapter to report on the way the various State Divisions adapted this program to their needs and resources, to detail the various and clever means by which State Divisions and county units gathered together large sums of money to finance the plan, or to outline the way by which 5,000,000 babies were weighed and measured through the infinite patience and labor of 9,000 local child-welfare chairmen, and many thousand more volunteer workers or to tell how doctors and nurses, housewives and teachers, movies and ministers, school superintendents and playground supervisors, joined in the movement; or to report the follow-up work whereby the many physical and mental defects were discovered and remedied; or to tell how the children of the States were helped to play, in pageants, in parks, in games; or yet how children were sent back to school; how children under 18 were kept in school and older ones advised and helped to a wise choice of further education and vocational training.

Rather it is the place of this chapter to record how this great task was planned, and to bear witness to the fact that the program and its success was due to the departmental plan of the Women's Committee, whereby it was made possible to assign to volunteers a definite sustained program planned by expert workers.

To fully appreciate the possibilities of a departmental plan of work one has only to cite the results in the one case in which it was set in full operation. The establishment in 4 States of new divisions of Child Hygiene, the appointment in 4 States of a State

Supervisor of Nurses, the opening of health centers in 24 States, better birth registration in 16 States, the establishment of supervised playgrounds in 16 States, were some of the things accomplished.

Such a summary but dimly measures the value of such a piece of work to the country and to the community. The program set for itself the aim of preserving the lives of 100,000 children that might otherwise have died. It seems probable that this aim, even in spite of the influenza epidemic, will be realized. But, over and above that net result of Children's Year, surely a great contribution to the Nation so recently bereaved of 50,000 fresh young citizens, the future will show a great impetus to education in child care, and an increased appreciation of the value of the child as a national asset and of the responsibility that belongs to society to make that potential asset a reality.

The spectacle of the womanhood of the Nation, after laying upon the altar of patriotism the young manhood of the land, turning valiantly about to save the childhood, rightly seen is one of the most moving episodes of the war period. To reduce it to the terms of the individual, see the mother, waving a farewell to her first born as he marches off to battle, turn about to save the life of the sick baby at her back door. See the young wife dry her tears and walk off to teach the children in her block a new game. See the grandmother speed both son and grandson on their way to war and straightway send two young boys back to school. Thus one grasps the spirit of Children's Year. Thus one understands the relation of the Home Guard to the front line.

Still another development of the departmental idea was that of Women in Industry. While many of the departments of work issued no national programs, leaving States to initiate work, and the Child Welfare Department, on the other hand, issued a complete program, this department did neither, but accomplished a series of undertakings, meeting the needs as they arose.

It was the general purpose of the department, of which Miss Agnes Nestor was chairman, with Mrs. Amy Walker Field as executive chairman, to see that standards for women in employment were maintained. At first this committee took as its guide the standards adopted by the Division of Ordnance, which were indorsed as the official standards of the Woman's Committee. In July, 1918, there was established in the Department of Labor an executive division with power to do some of the things for women industrial workers that other agencies had hoped to do. The Women in Industry Service, of the Department of Labor, with Miss Mary Van Kleeck at its head, was authorized to formulate such standards and policies as would insure proper working conditions for working women, to

advise the War Labor Policies Board as to the proper standards, and also by means of surveys, to discover whether such standards were actually being maintained.

The Women in Industry Department of the Woman's Committee cooperated with Miss Van Kleeck in interpreting to the women of the State Divisions the policies set forth by the President, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Labor, and the Council of National Defense as regards women in industry.

A set of standards for women in employment, more detailed than those embodied in General Orders, No. 13, issued by the Chief of Ordnance in 1917, were prepared by the Women in Industry Service. For a number of reasons these were delayed. When, after the signing of the armistice, they were issued, the Women in Industry Department of the Woman's Committee gave them wide publicity. This department, through the State Divisions, also assisted the United States Employment Service in finding jobs for returning soldiers, sailors, and war workers.

Early in the fall of 1918 a conference of the chairmen of the Women in Industry Departments of the State Divisions in the Middle West was held at Chicago, and resolutions were adopted urging more adequate factory inspection, the creation of a Woman's Division with adequate appropriation in each State Department of Labor, which did not at that time have such a division, the granting to women members of community labor boards equal voting power with men, the appointment of two women on the National War Labor Board, and the adoption by each State Department of Women in Industry of the official set of standards.

One of the most noteworthy achievements of the Women in Industry Department, in meeting a present need and also as indicating the possibility of departmental work, was the conference of social welfare workers of the various Federal departments to consider the problem of housing the girl workers of the Government at Washington. These girls had been in part recruited through the work of the State Division of the Woman's Committee and the Committee felt that it was its duty to the State Divisions and to the mothers of these girls, to see that they were provided with decent living conditions.

Plans had been made under an act of Congress for the erection of Government dormitories to meet the acute shortage of housing accomodations but there was no point of contact between the agencies in charge of the housing and the young women for whom these quarters were being provided. The Committee thus organized was able to furnish concrete suggestions on such matters as locks upon closet and bedroom doors, adequate trunk space, height of laundry tubs, etc. It also advised the Committee on Living Conditions

of the Department of Labor as to the management that would best meet the needs and wishes of the women workers who would occupy these dormitories. Perhaps no better example exists in governmental history of a concise, definite service for which there existed no precedent, or of the wholly logical injection of the woman's viewpoint into what was so evidently her "sphere," namely, the house in which women should eat and sleep.

One other department of work remains to be discussed in presenting the history of this departmental development. A statement of the program and scope of the Department of Educational Propaganda and Patriotic Education, of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was chairman, is more difficult than that of any other. Perhaps in no other field of war labor did there seem such duplication of work and plans as in that dealing with patriotic propaganda. Yet in none, surely, was there need for so many kinds of work, so many lines of approach. To name each agency at work to educate the people as to the causes of the war and to give its limitations and its programs, from the Committee of Public Information to the Bureau of Education, is unnecessary. Mrs. Martha Evans Martin, the executive chairman of this department of the Woman's Committee, used the department as a medium for the dissemination of information on Americanization and causes of the war as that information was prepared by these other agencies, distributing over 400,000 pamphlets and bulletins; but her work did not stop there. No other agency reached the women of the country with a particular message aimed directly to appeal to women's susceptibilities and sympathies.

Beginning with the club women, she prepared topics for study programs with a bibliography attached. Twenty thousand of these were issued and clubs were urged to substitute these subjects for the study of art, history, or literature in the winter's program. A series of leaflets called "The Truth Teller" were prepared, giving items of interesting information that could be bandied about in the parlor, on the porch, over tea tables, at the Red Cross, and at summer resorts. Women were urged to make these items the texts for their conversations. The formation of a Speakers' Bureau in every State was urged, with the result that 33 States had such bureaus in operation, and the suggestion was made that the executive committee of each State Division call a State-wide meeting of all officers, department heads, and county chairmen. These meetings were devoted to a discussion of war work of women and speeches on the theme "Why we are at war and why we must win."

Some States held summer schools, so that rural teachers attending them might be prepared to help correct public opinion concerning the war.

As a specific piece of work, this department undertook an experiment in rural meetings. With the consent of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Education and the cooperation of the Committee of Public Information, there was planned an experiment in educational propaganda among the rural peoples through the schools. This department at Washington selected two adjoining counties in each of 16 States, wrote to the county school superintendents asking permission to try to make these counties models in educational propaganda work. Seventeen of the superintendents responded cordially and sent lists of their teachers. The department wrote these teachers, asking each one to hold a meeting in her schoolhouse and sent them outlines for a program, some patriotic poems for the children to recite, some suggestions for speeches, from four to seven pamphlets each, and a blank for report of the meeting in the form of a questionnaire. In small groups over 30,000 people were reached by these meetings. More than 1,200 adults spoke to them, 60 per cent of the pupils took part by recitations, dialogues, and singing, and after the meetings the pamphlets and materials for recitations were passed around for neighborhood discussion. The teachers gave valuable aid in this work, and in answer to the questionnaire indicated the state of mind of the various neighborhoods, in some cases showing that a distinct improvement in morale had resulted from the meetings. The entire experiment was a success, and the rural work was continued, with the result that many States reported patriotic meetings in practically every schoolhouse.

Nor did the work of this department cease with that of impressing upon the American born what the winning or losing of the war might mean to the Nation. Owing to the widely different conditions in the States having foreign-born citizens or inhabitants, problems for Americanization work could not be uniform, and each State Division was advised to adopt methods which seemed best adapted to local conditions. The department did, however, specifically ask the State Divisions to take up the Americanization work and start a campaign to secure the attendance of the foreign born at night schools. A program was also formulated urging the establishment of State-wide war information service for immigrants, as a foundation for a great variety of work among foreigners, and suggesting ways in which to organize for this service.

A report of what this department really accomplished would therefore be a report of what the States initiated. Various and original were the methods of the State Divisions, the programs including activities as diverse as teaching illiterate mothers how to write letters to their boys at the front, and giving receptions for newly naturalized citizens.

The close contact maintained between this department at Washington and the State Divisions must be largely responsible for the tremendous reaction on this subject from these divisions. The Department of Educational Propaganda was not the voice of any one Federal agency, but it had a vivid part in the tremendous work accomplished through the close cooperation of many agencies. It had but one aim—to teach women that we must win the war.

In addition to the "departments of work" there were departments whose function was to make possible or to assist the work of other departments. They were, in reality parts of the executive machinery of the office. The work of one of these, that on Organization, is necessarily reported, together with its scope, in the chapter on "The Answer from the States." Another, the News Department, grew from an ambitious dream to a department that contemplated, and finally in December, 1917, issued a periodical News Letter to the women of the country, telling of the work of the various State Divisions; to a news service that issued through the Committee of Public Information, a story a day; to a Foreign News Service, securing information about the women of the Allies and distributing it to the press of this country. A librarian, Miss Marion Nims, came to assemble books and periodicals, and prepare a bibliography on books about women in the war. Miss Tarbell was chief of this department with, first, Mrs. Gertrude Matthews Shelby and later Mrs. Alline T. Wilkes, as executive secretary.

The duty of the departments at Washington was to enable the women of the State Divisions to help win the war. When a department could best accomplish this by sending these women in the States, programs of the Federal departments, it did so. If what was needed was some particular program of work, that was furnished. If what was necessary was to stimulate and inspire local initiative then the departments devoted their correspondence to that task.

The departmental plan was in no sense a limitation of activities. It was merely a method of distributing the work. When work is educational, its divisions under headings simplifies both the planning and the execution. The general instructions as to the extent and scope of the Committee's work were limited only by those placed upon it by the Council of National Defense. Neither did the departmental plan mean the segregation of tasks. The lines between departments were movable, conferences between departmental heads frequent, the plan of each department coordinated with the plan of the others and each worked into the plan of the whole by the executive office of the Resident Director. Any operation of a departmental plan of work must depend for its final success on the executive who, seeing the work as a whole and the departments as parts of that whole, so directs

the work that each part fits perfectly into the whole. Such a departmental plan of work resembles not so much a series of separate solos as an orchestra in which each department is an instrument, so directed by the leader that altogether they produce a symphony.

The reaction from the States was proof of the success of this departmental system, for by their fruits you may know organizations, as well as men. Some of the fruits of the departmental plan and effort will be told in the chapter on achievements, but only by a careful perusal of the reports of the 48 State Divisions, which adapted, initiated, and translated the policies and plans given it, into terms of its own ability, can they be fully appreciated. To select examples here and there would be unfair, for every State Division according to its means, gave in full measure and running over.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPECIAL WORK.

As was explained in chapter 7, the departmental plan, adopted by the Woman's Committee, did not exclude action upon any suggested form of activity that did not at once fall logically under a specific heading in some department's program. Not only were matters besides those involving policy discussed and decided by the whole Committee, but provision was made for handling special work through the office of the Resident Director. Many matters required but a single executive act, some required the transmission of messages to the State Divisions or to the women of the country, others were the cause of numerous conferences, and still others led to carefully thought-out and well organized campaigns.

Of the former were the "letters to the Queens." Among the many visitors that came to 1814 N Street was a well-known dancer who brought a tale of the suffering and noble self-sacrifice of the Queen of Roumania. This account so moved the Committee that it considered sending a message of appreciation and condolence to Her Majesty. Every tale of suffering in those dark days reminded all sympathetic women of the courageous, brave, and splendid woman who, deprived of her throne and reigning only in the hearts of her people, was leading the women of Belgium in good work and service. Accordingly, it was agreed that messages should be sent to Queen Marie of Roumania and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, expressing the sentiments of the women of America.

In the Woman's Committee, republican America had the first official symbol of her womanhood. This Committee spoke to those Queens as more than Queens, as symbols of the womanhood of their respective nations.

These letters, touching in their simple message of appreciation and affection, were transcribed on illumined parchment. The exquisite lettering and decoration was the work of C. Scapecchi, a labor of love for his adopted country. So beautiful were they, when finished, that it was felt they should have containers worthy of them. For that to the Queen of Belgium, a hexagonal-shaped cylinder was made, with metal edges and clasps; for the Queen of Roumania, two flat boards with wondrous clasps—both the work of the artist who had so beautifully wrought the messages. Other messages to the

sore-stricken women of our allies, a letter to Russia, to Queen Mary of England, to Madame Poincare of France, to Helene, of Italy, expressed the desire of American women to help them, not only to victory but to peace and happiness.

Messages, too, were issued by executive act to the women of America. When the day approached that was to bring the Nation a long step nearer economic strain, and the war to every fireside, when the time came to take a draft of the men from 30 to 45 years of age, the Provost Marshal General asked Dr. Shaw to appeal to the women to do their part in urging their men to register.

"I am impressed," he wrote, "with the importance of availing myself of the assistance of the women of the country as represented by your committee. With full knowledge of the situation, it is certain that they will be ready to assist by all appropriate means."

Probably there was never a more genuine tribute to the influence of American woman on the life of the American man than this direct request that the women help the men to go willingly and bravely to their duty.

Dr. Shaw's words, in sending this most difficult appeal, will go ringing down the ages, not only as expressing the ultimate demand war makes upon women, but as marking an epochal recognition of woman's contribution to the morale of a Nation. She said:

A new and imperative call comes to the women of our land from which at first there may be a spirit of shrinking, but the splendid response which the patriotic women of America have made to every call of their country assures us of a willing and courageous compliance with this, the greatest and most important demand made upon the loyalty of our people since the beginning of the war. * * * Congress has now called for the registration of the man power of the Nation, men between the ages of 18 and 45 years, of which there are estimated to be 13,000,000, not all of whom will be called into active service, but from whom the 2,000,000 or more will be selected to complete the army of 5,000,000 men which we have pledged to the allied cause. * * * We women know who these men are, and every woman is equally in honor bound to inspire, encourage, and urge the men of her family to perform their patriotic duty. This is the service of sacrifice and loyalty which the Government asks of the women of the Nation at the present critical hour, and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense takes up this duty with spirit and enthusiasm, realizing how much depends upon our attitude toward it.

Another message, no less impressive, was that sent out September 13, 1918, by the Committee, urging women to come forward to take up the industrial burdens:

Millions of men will be drawn from civilian life through the registrations of to-day. Already over two and a half million have gone out of their accustomed work to serve in the war. * * * If the machinery of everyday life is to be run smoothly for the remainder of the war, women must come forward at this time much more generally than they have done to take the places of men. * * * Employers, we ask you to give women a fair and complete trial. Women, we appeal to you to supply the workers to meet the widespread, whole-

sale demand. It is patriotic to serve in the trenches of France and Belgium; it may be equally so to drive a butcher's cart or keep the baggage records in a great station. Do not be content to do your bit; do your all. "Keep the home wheels turning."

These two messages marked the beginning of the second stage of women's participation in the war. Had the war continued the vast Home Guard the Woman's Committee had organized would have been needed not only to defend civilization, but to carry on the daily life of the Nation.

It was never the function of the Woman's Committee, as people sometimes thought, to initiate new work. That either belonged to Federal agencies or to the State Divisions. The Committee's place, as has been explained, was that of a clearing house. But ideas, as well as plans and programs, cleared there. To them the President referred that touching and beautiful letter, asking that the American women follow the example of their English sisters and forego mourning for their loved ones who had fallen in the cause of the country. There had been other suggestions on this subject, from the Commercial Economy Board, from individuals, to the Council, and suggestions had also been made to Congress. But it was the Woman's Committee who suggested the adoption of the mourning brassard, a gold star on a black band, and they issued a letter from Dr. Shaw, appealing to the women of the country to "show to the world that as our men can die bravely, women can live bravely. * * * Wear this badge, not so much as a symbol of mourning, as that of the rank of those who have been counted worthy to make the supreme sacrifice for their country and for humanity."

The question of how women should honor the flag was also decided after consultation with military authorities and the information given to the women of the country. What the committee did in those early days in the way of protecting the interests of women will never be accurately measured, for the fact that its eyes were known to be so keenly alert in this particular often forestalled any necessity for them "to resolve."

The problem of giving proper protection to young girls around the cantonments was brought to the Committee's attention, whereupon it recommended that a system of women patrols about the camps be adopted. The Council asked for material on the working of this system in England. All that was available was gathered together and presented to the Council. The Committee wrote to the Secretary of War, asking that two women be placed on the Labor Adjustment Board; it urged upon him, too, the justice of women physicians having equal opportunities for service with the men. It sent to the Council a resolution expressing its belief that steps should be taken to give to nurses military rank and its readiness to

assist by taking any action in the matter deemed advisable by the Council.

As has been said elsewhere, besides these Federal agencies that cooperated with the departments of the Woman's Committee, there were Federal agencies that had no means of developing their own State agencies. These, following the plan which the Committee had originally adopted as available for all Federal agencies, appealed directly to the Woman's Committee to assist them.

The first of these Federal calls for aid was that of the Civil Service Commission, which found itself besieged by these governmental departments which were rapidly expanding to meet the war needs, with demands for more clerks and with no adequate machinery for supplying so pressing a demand. Since the young men who might, under peace conditions, have sought such positions were taken by the draft, it was evident that women must be depended upon to fill these new positions, as well as the vacancies left by the young men drafted. Accordingly, in October, 1917, an appeal to the young women of the country to take civil-service examinations and qualify for Government service was sent out through the State Divisions. Those Divisions that had had registration now made use of their cards, sending application blanks to women who had registered for this kind of service. Other State Divisions asked their workers to make canvasses, to insert advertisements in newspapers, and to use their telephones. As a result, Washington was soon supplied with applicants. Of the 25,000 appointments made to clerical positions during America's first year of war, half were women. The exact number of women that came as a direct result of the appeal of the Woman's Committee is not known, since the applicants turned in their applications to the Civil Service Commission and not to the Woman's Committee; but all vacancies were filled, with applicants to spare, and the Commission wrote a letter of appreciation to the Committee, expressing gratitude for its assistance.

When the United States entered the war, the percentage of women in some of the Federal departments was very small. But just one year after war was declared these same departments found it necessary, because of the increase in the armed forces of the United States, to appoint women to positions that had before been open only to men. The employment of women in certain drafting positions, for instance, was recommended by the officers in the Engineering Bureau, providing the applicants could meet certain educational requirements and offer a certain amount of experience. Many other positions were opened to women, such as "balance stores" clerk, junior chemist, clerk qualified in statistics, steel-plant clerk, inspector of small-arms munition.

In January, 1918, the Chief of the Supply Division, Ordnance Department, asked the Woman's Committee to secure, through an advisory committee organized for this purpose, 90 college women to fill places of men, including commissioned and noncommissioned officers called for war service. The positions to be filled ran from schedule clerks to assistants of officers in charge. The same salaries were offered to the women that had been paid to the men. The positions offered unusual opportunity for training in efficient business methods and a unique opportunity for patriotic service, since each woman accepted released a man for foreign military service and also performed a war service of the first importance in a department intrusted with supplying the soldiers with equipment and munitions.

When the Resident Director made this need and opportunity known to certain colleges in the country, over 1,500 applications were received. Four hundred and seventy-one positions, including the 90 for which request was originally made, were filled from these applications.

One of the very first requests to the Woman's Committee for aid came from a fellow committee of the Council of National Defense, the Commercial Economy Board, which asked for assistance in the attempt to reduce the number of parcel deliveries with intent to release men for other service more necessary in war times. This request was transmitted to the State Divisions and the efforts made by them to secure the whole-hearted support of the women shoppers to this policy aided materially in making it effective.

The Shipping Board appealed to the Committee for cooperation, and the women's organizations of the country got solidly behind the campaign to enroll men for shipbuilding. Meetings were held, bulletins issued, and canvasses made.

But above all the other specific tasks handled directly by the Resident Director of the Woman's Committee, none was conceived on so large a scale, or so minutely worked out as to detail, as that known as the United States Student Nurse Reserve campaign. The time allowed for preparation for this large campaign was very short.

The response of only 13,000 graduate nurses to the request for 25,000 for foreign service was apparently the final evidence that a serious shortage of nurses was threatening, and that prompt action must be taken to fill the hospital training schools of the country in order to relieve more graduate nurses for the foreign service. The situation was so acute that almost at the very moment the need was made known to the Woman's Committee by the agencies charged with the survey of the nursing situation it was necessary to open a

campaign for candidates to fill the training classes of the summer and fall terms.

After a conference of agencies interested, the Red Cross, the Surgeon General's office, the Committee on Nursing, General Medical Board of the Council of National Defense and the Woman's Committee of the Council, a campaign for a Student Nurse Reserve was planned and the Woman's Committee asked to undertake a campaign to enroll the students. To begin the campaign, a letter was issued to the young women of America, signed by the chairman of the Woman's Committee, the Surgeon General of the Army, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, the chairman of the Red Cross, and chairman of the General Medical Board, Council of National Defense. Very briefly it set forth the need for nurses facing the Army, and the country was appealed to for 25,000 young women between the ages of 19 and 35 to enroll in the Student Nurse Reserve. The task of enrolling these young women was given to the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee. To understand how tremendous was this task, and against what odds these State Divisions must work, it is necessary to understand what this Student Nurse Reserve was.

Those who registered in this volunteer body pledged themselves to be in readiness any time up to April, 1919, to take a hospital training course of from two to three years, according to the requirements of the hospital to which they would be assigned. The candidate might be assigned to an Army hospital, or she might be assigned to a civilian hospital, according to the preference she expressed. In order to be acceptable for this reserve, she must be physically fit, of good moral character, and have some high school training, and preferably college training. She had no promise of being sent abroad. She was to become a student in the hospitals of this country so that the graduate nurses might be released for the foreign service. She would, of course, be receiving training for a profession that paid well, she would receive board and lodging, and, in some cases, a small amount of money to cover cost of books and uniforms. But her other expenses, such as traveling and incidentals, she must meet. She would be without any means of support during the time of waiting and training.

Only a woman of vision could see the long hours of drudgery before a student nurse, as the equivalent of military service. No glory, no recompense, no rank, no pay, not even a thrill or an experience. Surely patriotism makes a strong demand upon woman's imagination! Each time she scrubbed a floor, what a mental operation was required to realize that by so doing, another woman, off in France, was bandaging a fractured arm; each time she bathed a querulous old woman, what an argument she must build to convince

herself that the son was fighting better out there in Flanders, because he knew his mother was not neglected. It was not an easy job that was given to these State Divisions, that of making their women workers, county and city chairmen, see first of all the patriotic appeal of this Student Nurse Reserve. It was as if you should say to the draft officer who sits behind a table in the khaki-colored tent before which the bugler stands, and the beautiful flag waves, "Tell those boys who want to serve Uncle Sam that they must agree to be ready any minute inside the next nine months to go into a coal mine and push the cars up the slide, for by so doing, they make it possible for other boys to sail the ocean blue, dare the submarine, and perhaps come back with gold bars on their sleeves, congressional medals on their breasts, and commissions in their pockets."

But women have never lacked imagination. It is the food on which their hopes live. So the women of the State Divisions did not make reply. They received their instructions, accepted their quotas, and sent out their literature. They opened recruiting offices in libraries and schoolhouses, and then, not satisfied, they organized card canvassers to interview eligible girls. The application blanks were long and complicated. Registrars had to be trained to fill them out. And then there appeared another handicap. The campaign was to open July 29. On July 17, it became apparent to the Resident Director's office, which was managing the campaign from Washington, that the Government Printing Office would not be able to deliver the enrollment cards and the application blanks at the time promised. A telegram was at once sent to the State chairmen that if it was satisfactory to them and they would send a list of county chairmen and county quotas, the material would be sent direct from Washington. Ten States preferred to have the blanks at headquarters, but the material for the rest was sent direct to the county chairmen. On July 26 it was evident that the material could not be shipped in time to reach the States by July 29, and another telegram was sent asking them to enroll all applicants by copying a form from the bulletin, keeping a record of all the applicants so that they could be notified when blanks were received.

On July 27, 29, and 30, the material was delivered from the Government Printing Office. If only the women in those States, who waited in nervous tension for this material, feeling that the task was difficult enough at the best, and the blanks hard to make out, and the system of handling bunglesome, who had spent days in explanations and hours in teaching registrants, could have seen the energy and zeal with which the whole force at 1814 N Street, from the janitress to Dr. Shaw herself, fell to and worked early and late, counting cards, tieing packages and cutting cords! If there was desperation at one end because of the delay, there was haste and dismay at the other.

Although material enough to enroll three times the number of women called for had been sent, requests for more material came so rapidly that more was ordered. On August 7, permission was given the States to reprint their own blanks if they wished. Many of them acted on this suggestion. Shortly after, more material was sent.

In spite of these handicaps, States reported great numbers of enrollments. By August 15, two States—Utah and Connecticut—reported they had exceeded their quotas by two and three times. But the returns of application blanks were much slower. This was partly due to the difficulty in getting educational certificates filled out and also because of the delay in receiving the material. Because of this, the time of the campaign was prolonged for a couple of weeks, but in order that applicants might enter the fall terms of the training schools, it was necessary that the campaign close September 5. State chairmen were, however, advised that they might continue enrolling applicants, as occasion offered.

It was found that many applicants could not afford traveling expenses, and it was felt that these expenses should be paid by the Government. This matter was taken up by the Army School of Nursing, and it was decided in September that all future applicants to that school of nursing should have their expenses paid when they were traveling under orders of the Surgeon General. The question of traveling expenses to civilian hospitals was not so easily solved. This problem was overcome as much as possible by assigning candidates to the hospitals nearest them.

Many applications were received from women who, though of good education and sound health, could not be accepted in the reserve because they were over the age requirement. Many married women were anxious and eager to serve while their husbands were in the service; these women were excluded from training in Army hospitals, therefore it was decided to use them as hospital assistants.

Still other applicants were of too meager an education to be assigned to the accredited hospitals, and these were advised to become hospital aides.

With the signing of the armistice the immediate need of increasing the number of student nurses in order to release graduate nurses for work overseas was removed, and since the number of student nurses recruited was sufficient to fill the vacancies in a majority of civilian hospitals, and since the Army School of Nursing had a long waiting list, no further applications were accepted after December 13, 1918.

Altogether there were recruited 13,880 young women, of whom 18 were from Canada, 1 from Alaska, and 1 from Porto Rico. By the end of December 7,730 of these had been placed.

If one allows for each handicap, if one considers the shortness of the time, the high standard of eligibility set, if one thinks of how small was the reward offered, how great the service, and, above all, if one compares it with campaigns for shipbuilders, and recalls the traveling expenses and the high wages offered, then it is distinctly noteworthy that over 13,000 young women with the necessary requirements plus the desire for service, enlightened by an imagination that could connect drudgery with patriotism, offered themselves as "waiters" on a possible need of them.

This nurses' campaign is significant. Toward its success was directed the zealous efforts of thousands of women. More publicity was given to it than ever before to an undertaking of women, unless it be the New York campaign for suffrage. Every magazine carried an advertisement. Five thousand clippings were sent back to the News Section of the Committee, and these represented only a fraction of the material which the newspapers carried. Volunteers spoke for the drive, wrote for it, and canvassed the whole country. It appealed to the age-old instinct of women to care for the sick and suffering. On the other hand, it put her in her old, old position of giving everything, receiving nothing, not even "honorable mention."

It is true the student nurse was offered excellent training, but at the same time industry was offering woman opportunity to do man's work at man's wage, paying her while she was learning, and commending her acceptance of that opportunity as patriotism. It is not just to dismiss this with the thought that nursing was service, the other spectacular and picturesque. Not alone the spectacular chained girls down to odious machines or to long days in hay and wheat fields. Not alone the picturesque sent girls across the water to serve with the boys, even under the shadow and sound of guns. Prejudice and tradition were on the side of the nurse reserve, but the other savored to her of a coming day for which she had long yearned. It offered visible steps toward woman's goal—that keystone of the arch of the new America—equality.

No more than in other social works can the results of this campaign be measured in figures. The stirring up of public interest in the nursing profession, the high type of women that were brought into it, must be of great and lasting benefit.

Every work undertaken by the Committee furnished data for future service. From this nurses' campaign experiences were gained that, had the war continued, would have led to larger service. Closing when it did, one great lesson of the Great War would be lost were such experiences not catalogued, analyzed, and offered as data for the next great demand that comes, whether that demand be to defend the Nation or to reconstruct it.

CHAPTER IX.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE STATE DIVISIONS.

To give a history of the Woman's Committee, its plan of organization and work, without a description of the work accomplished by the State Divisions would be like beginning and ending a history of the Great War with the plan of campaign as outlined at general headquarters. A student interested in the way that campaigns are planned might be satisfied with such a history, but anyone who wanted to know what really happened would go to the various divisional headquarters and find out how the various divisions carried out those orders. In ascertaining that, he would find that each regiment and each battalion had its own story to tell and that the story of the war was not the story of general orders or of a plan, but of how much ground each unit took, and the means employed to take it. Each unit found obstacles not on the plan and fought past them according to the fighting ability, heroism, persistence, dash, and character of its soldiers.

So the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense could only issue general orders, telling each State what the objectives were. The story of how each State Division employed its ingenuity, courage, and persistence to reach those objectives is the real history of the Woman's Committee.

When one considers that there were 48 of these State Divisions and that each one had an organization adapted to meet and overcome its own difficulties, limited or expanded according to its own resources, one realizes how very sketchy must be any chapter that attempts to tell what was achieved by the State Divisions. The circular letters issued by the different national departments of work merely pointed out to the State Divisions the objectives. It was the part of each State Division to take this letter, discover the particular part of that objective that lay in its territory and make plans to reach it. The plans of the State Divisions were necessarily dependent upon circumstances that ofttimes they could not control. For instance, organization was a very different proposition in a State like Illinois, with railroads making a network over the State and with thousands of women of leisure, from organization in a State like Wyoming with railroads traversing the

State horizontally, and intercourse between these lines of communication often impossible, or in a State like Idaho, of which the woman population in a large part is domestic, with every hour engaged in service to her family. Then, too, there are States where women's activities in public work are tolerated rather than welcomed; there are others where it is opposed.

Naturally, then, a comparison of the ways the various State Divisions carried out the plans given to them would be worse than odious; it would be unfair. Outside of the advantages due to geographical or economic conditions, the social position and recognition of women and the possession of sufficient funds, the degree of success enjoyed by a State Division may be largely attributed to the personality of the chairman or, rather, to the adaptability of her personality to her special problems. Where the chief problem was to harmonize matters with the State Council to secure financial help the personality that could win its support while maintaining its respect was absolutely necessary. A much better organizer, a born leader of women, might lack this ability to handle men and thus weaken the success of the State Division. This may not seem a fair way to state the matter. One might insist that such failure in any State Division was due to the personality of a State Council which required "handling." But since the social machine is organized as it is, one may as well accept the fact that the burden of harmony rests with the women. On the other hand, in another State Division there might be no question of this kind to meet. The chairman might need to be a woman utterly dissociated in women's minds with any one woman's organization so that she could more easily, effectively and fairly coordinate the work of all the women's organizations in that State. To a certain degree this dependence on personality will always continue, but the time may come when ability to fight, to organize, to think, will rank with women as with men, as after all the important traits of leadership.

But it would not be fair to credit all the success of the State Divisions or charge all their failures to State chairmen or even the State Executive Boards. While executive officers can never evade the responsibility for success or failure that rests upon them, no executive officer can rouse enthusiasm where the germ of it does not exist in the spirit or heart of those he leads. No board can create out of nothing able and efficient workers. As each chairman would say that what success her division enjoyed was due to the splendid type of women who were in the county units, so must the burden for any failures there were, rest upon the women in the counties who refused to respond or to carry their responsibilities.

Yet it is important to stress again the fact that though reports of thousands of women registered, of thousands of women placed in industry, of tons of food saved, of community kitchens organized, literature distributed, children weighed, are thrilling and one can not but honor the women of a State that can make such reports, still it is impossible from reports alone to measure the success of any State Division. A small State Division may have registered few women, but these very women may have come more miles per person to sign their names; the sacrifice per person in hours and energy may be 200 per cent more. So with every line of endeavor. A rich State may announce an organization 100 per cent efficient on the word of an efficiency expert, but the weak State Division, whose chairman pounded out all her official letters on a little typewriter on her dining room table, which was able to solve one serious problem of disloyalty, may, in the long run, deserve far more credit.

From the task of appraising the work of the various divisions it is pleasant to turn to an inventory of what they accomplished, the sum total of which will ever be a monument to the loyalty, zeal, and ability of the American women. A perusal of the reports of State after State leaves the reader breathless with admiration. Not alone that so much was done, not alone that so many women worked, in season and out, but that so much ingenuity, so much originality, so much initiative should result from what after all were rather bare and meager "general orders." These each State Division interpreted in terms of its own situation, making its own application of them and devising its own methods for carrying them out. It is not simply in the amount of food saved, the number of foreigners made into Americans in spirit as well as in name, the number of women recruited for industry or for the nursing reserves, the babies saved, that the true measure of the work of the State Divisions is to be found. It is rather in an understanding of the things they did, the immediate attention to careful detail these involved, their quick seizure of every opportunity, their valiant attack at any weak spot, or their equally valiant response to every demand upon them.

The work of the State Divisions could be divided broadly into three parts, the first dealing with the work of educating, rousing, enthusing, and organizing the women for war work. The brunt of this, of course, fell upon the executive board and the headquarters. These varied in the States, from large offices staffed by competent paid workers with expenses amounting to thousands of dollars, to the aforesaid chairmen holding forth in their own dining rooms where women gave volunteer work daily. This work was supplemented by a very splendid publicity. Long before the war was over it became apparent to many a Federal department that the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee had, next to the Committee of

Public Information, one of the best "through lines" to the people. A story sent from the news department of the Committee at Washington to the publicity departments of the State Divisions was relayed by them to every local paper of their States, so that a message from Dr. Shaw or a request to join in a rat-extermination campaign reached every newspaper reader in the remotest hamlets. In addition, 13 of these State Divisions had news letters or publications of their own. Local news stories were given out and various new and clever methods of promoting publicity developed by the State publicity chairmen. One State Division organized a magazine publicity committee of 100 women, each member pledging one article a month.

By June 30, 1918, 33 State Divisions had speakers' bureaus and 22 of these reported regularly to Washington, sending lists of from 30 to several hundred speakers, who were supplied with material from the national headquarters. One State reported having sent speakers to 32 localities to address foreigners in their own tongue. Another reported over "3,000 speeches in six months with half the counties not heard from." Eleven States held training classes for speakers. Study groups discussed the war; rural meetings were held in schoolhouses; war topics were used for commencement themes, and hundreds of thousands of pamphlets distributed.

The second division of the work of the State Divisions has been picturesquely called the "preservation of the social fabric." Under this head came the work of those departments that have already been touched upon in other chapters, the Health and Recreation, the Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies, and the Child Welfare Department. This latter sent out the most specific detailed plan of work of any department of the committee. Yet even this program was developed in many different ways by different State Divisions. In the first place, the financing of it was left to them and each one financed it to different amounts and by different means. Twenty-one thousand four hundred and four dollars was expended from the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial fund in Illinois. Minnesota raised $11,300 in the counties. Many States resorted to the sale of "baby stamps," buttons, or arm tags. Much originality, too, was displayed in methods of publicity for this campaign. Seven States published State posters; in 11 States movies were used to inform the public. Michigan, Connecticut, and Ohio each ran a "Baby Special," a motor fully equipped for weighing and measuring babies, with a graduate nurse in attendance, a moving picture on the roof for combining instructions and amusement, and quantities of literature aboard for the instruction of mothers. Patriotic Play Week was celebrated in literally thousands of communities, the celebration varying from a pageant put on by the city to a half-day picnic.

In the Women in Industry Department there was as much variation in achievement as there is variation in situation, and when one compares the industrial problems of States like New York with those of States like Idaho or Arizona, one realizes not only the scope of that statement but the wisdom of a plan of work that confined itself to "general orders" and left the application of them to State Divisions.

Although such work was not suggested by the National Committee's chairman on Women in Industry, many States made notable surveys of the conditions of working women. Twenty-seven States made industrial surveys, gathering information concerning replacement of men by women, the labor turnover, wages, hours, conditions of work, sanitary conditions, and, in some cases, housing conditions. As a result of such surveys, recommendations were made to remedy conditions detrimental to the health of women employees. In some cases surveys were conducted under direction of some State authority, such as a Minimum Wage Commission. This proved especially useful in securing a great amount of valuable data which could not have been collected with the limited paid forces. Some States devoted their surveys to peculiarly local phases of the problem of Women in Industry, as, for example, in North Dakota, where an investigation of the hours of clerks in small stores during the harvest season was made. Massachusetts surveyed day nurseries, with a view to securing State legislation. One of the most important surveys was that made by Minnesota to secure statistics as to actual conditions of women workers in war times; Ohio investigated some conditions of working women and had them remedied; Maryland investigated the conditions in 19 industries.

Many State Divisions cooperated closely with State and Federal employment bureaus in regard to the placement of women workers. In 1917 the Maryland Division recruited workers for canneries during the tomato season, until difficulty over wages made assistance seem ill advised. Later the same committee found women workers for textile mills and factories working on Army orders.

In Des Moines the committee made special effort to secure employment for women who had come to the city in order to be near relatives at adjacent military camps. Rhode Island, at the request of the Federal Employment Service, had recruited some 600 women for work in munition factories when the armistice made the continuation of that campaign unnecessary.

In fact, a report of the work of this department which might, to one who did not review the detailed reports of the States, seem confined to publicity and to sporadic investigations without many definite achievements, clearly exemplifies that function of the State Divisions which might be called that of a vigilance committee.

Although given no definite legislative program to urge, each State chairman of this department, provided she could make the necessary connections with her own State Labor Bureau or with the local Consumers' League, had, and usually grasped, a wide opportunity to do some work that would remedy conditions injurious to women. This may not seem to be a large contribution if one is thinking of the whole story of the exploitation of woman labor, yet each little—and effective—advance against wrongs has its important place, more important, perhaps, because it is "in advance" of the general program for which ofttimes it clears the way. These orders further served to give State departments the position of standing, as a policeman on his beat, ready and willing, as in the case of the Knoxville, Tenn., unit, to forestall a condition that might add to the wrongs. This unit found girls flocking into the city for instructions and jobs, with no adequate housing arrangements available. These it proceeded to find.

But not all of the work of the State Divisions was directed to maintaining the social fabric intact. To their credit stands a tremendous amount of intensive war work. Of this, the third division, undoubtedly, which dealt with the food problem, would rank as the most important. It probably engaged a larger number of women than any other work undertaken by the State Divisions. It is not too much to say that a report of the Departments of Food Administration and Food Production and Home Economics of the State Divisions would include the larger part of the food conservation reports of the Food Administrators of the States. In addition to the help given by the State Divisions to the Food Administration in canvassing for the food drives, in distributing its literature, in giving publicity to its plans; in addition to the assistance rendered to county food administrators, where oftimes the food chairman of the Woman's Committee as assistant, performed the duties of the office, there was the initiation of new activities. Demonstrations, institute courses of instruction on canning, and cooking were given. Displays of food made from substitutes were placed in store windows and at county fairs, and community canneries and community kitchens were opened. The effect of this tremendous amount of work undertaken in collaboration with the Food Administration, and Food Production and Home Economics departments of the Woman's Committee, the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural colleges, can never be definitely measured, nor can a dividing line ever be drawn and a report state "lo, here or lo, there" belongs the credit. So close was this cooperation between the various agencies that the general public and ofttimes the workers themselves never fully understood the line of demarcation. This was, for a time, most

confusing and sometimes it seemed to make for delay and inefficiency, but in the end the combined efforts produced compensating results.

Waste in garden truck was met by suggestions for drying centers and some remarkable experiments in community industry along this line resulted, and also in the way of community kitchens, of which hundreds were established, the Cash and Carry Kitchen in St. Louis being the largest.

There were interesting incidents, such as the organization of the waitresses in Georgia into a thrift army to stop hotel wastage; and many specific cases of saving were reported, such as the saving by nine hospitals in Pennsylvania of 100 pounds of butter and 1,000 loaves of bread. An especially effective part of the work was the preparation of literature sent out for fairs and exhibits. This consisted of posters, panels, directions, demonstrations, and displays. These posters often suggested to the women original methods of conservation of their own that, in their union with a million others, fed the Allies and led to victory.

A complete picture of what the women of America did in support of Mr. Hoover's program for conserving foodstuffs could be given if one could paint a panorama, not otherwise. It would need show first of all, the primary groups, the State Chairman of Food Conservation, the State Extension Director, the Assistant Food Administrator and, back of them, the mimeographing machines, the newspapers, the State universities; there would need to follow the host of county food chairmen, the hundreds of county home demonstrators, meetings of earnest-faced women organizing home demonstration associations to bring home demonstration agents to counties that had none. There would be groups writing and gathering receipts for cookbooks; there would be institutes by the thousands, where women were being taught to cook and can; there would be against the horizon of the picture the smoke of millions of kitchens, and in the background, millions of housewives bending over kitchen stoves, trying to relearn their job of cooking. Even so it would not be complete until another panorama had shown the many schoolteachers who went into the farmhouses during the summer and cooked for harvest hands; the other women who, hearing that the berry crop would waste for lack of pickers, hurried to the berry fields; the Women's Land Army, with its units of 10 to 70 women, each camping near large farms and laboring for the farmers near by. There would be shown thousands of war gardens, tilled by boys and girls and women.

One can say in so many words that 35 State Divisions reported that they had promoted war gardens and arrangements for town women to relieve the farm wife, or that in a single State 20,000 back yards were converted into war gardens, or that 730 women were

prepared by one division to give demonstrations, or that 300 towns in one State had opened community kitchens. One can even describe the hardships that some groups of women endured to save a berry crop worth $80,000, or the immense amount of hard work entailed in opening a Community Kitchen like the one established in St. Louis; but all this does not give a real conception of the amount of food work done by the women of America. Every woman did some part of it; many gave a long 10-hour day throughout the war to it; and not the quarter nor the tenth of what was done was ever reported. It was not picturesque work or easy work. It did not appeal particularly to woman. It was part of her old-time drudgery. And the making over of the habits of a whole trade is not a simple matter. But it was her job and she did it, unhesitatingly and thoroughly. Though the final reports of what was accomplished must remain, and will remain, in the archives of an agency directed and managed entirely by men, the busines of teaching and leading, and of bringing the American housewife to conserve the entire amount of food needed to relieve the Allies must always remain the one biggest undertaking ever accomplished by women. The record of all the methods, all the plans, all the undertakings, local, county, and State, to promote food conservation, in the reports of the State Divisions, shows that most of the food conservation work was the accomplishment of the State Divisions.

Again and again the local units and the State Divisions would cry out for a specific food program, for a detailed order, but, though it was never forthcoming, they set themselves to their job and the tremendous amount of food work done, the various forms it took, the result accomplished, make one wonder whether, after all, this system of leaving the States so largely to their own initiative was not a spark of genius, since it called forth all the ingenuity, all the initiative, all the cleverness, and all the resources that the women had, at the same time appealing to that latent rivalry through which States, organizations, and individuals strive to excel.

It must not be supposed that all the work of the State Divisions was confined to department work. The various drives, food, student nurse reserve, Civil Service Commission drive for stenographers, were all their work, although these matters are reported in other chapters. There went through the Washington office a steady stream of requests not only for general conservation, for thrift, but requests for specific assistance on specific campaigns, such as those for an economical Christmas, for the extermination of rats, etc. Each request was the basis for a State campaign and program. Nor were the activities of the divisions limited to these requests sent from Washington. Requests for help came constantly from State and local authorities. When the fuel situation was at its worst, such appeals

were made to many of the local units of the Woman's Committee. As an instance of the way these requests were granted, may be cited the appointment, in Chicago, of ward leaders who were placed in charge of investigating the appeals for coal. Sixteen thousand three hundred and ninety-nine orders for coal were filled by these women. In Providence, R. I., 150 women went from house to house to solicit coal for the relief of those in need. They succeeded in collecting over 115 tons in two days.

One of the most difficult matters that certain parts of the country had to handle was the organization of the colored women. Although the National Committee sent Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson to visit the State Divisions and report on Negro organization and give assistance to the State Divisions in organizing Negro workers, the handling of this was naturally a matter entirely in the hands of the State Divisions. The problem varied with the social conditions of the locality. And the solution varied. In some Northern State Divisions the colored women worked beside the white women. In others, separate units were formed known as the Colored Section of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, with the work under the leadership of a capable colored woman. Negro women did excellent war work in States as widely separated as Colorado, Michigan, and South Carolina. Altogether 13 States reported Negro units. In every State where there was a branch of that organization the National Association of Colored Women gave its ardent support to the work of the Woman's Committee.

One of the duties the State Division most ably performed was the coordination within the States of the national and State organizations of women. Whatever war work was undertaken by these organizations was reported to the State Divisions. To find the happy line between duplication of work and stimulation of energy and undertaking was its task. In some State Divisions this was done through monthly meetings of an advisory council composed of the heads of the women's organizations, when reports were made by the organizations to the executive board. In others it was accomplished by giving over to certain organizations certain tasks. Sometimes, as was to be expected, misunderstandings ensued and sometimes organizations that felt they were, or should be, the leading war agencies upset the smoothness of the machinery for the time, but these were only the exceptions that must be expected. As the greatness of the task before the women of America became evident, as the work increased, these misunderstandings and difficulties melted away. An illustration of this cooperation, taken at random which could be duplicated many times, indicates the extent to which this cooperation went, and far offsets the few exceptions. In one county in Kentucky, with a population of 38,845, 27 organiza-

tions cooperated. Another county with a population of 47,715 reported 45 organizations affiliated.

As these organizations made reports to the State Divisions, the grand total of the achievements of the State Divisions includes them. For instance, the reports of many State Divisions include the reports of the Red Cross in that State. Also the work of the Y. W. C. A. One chairman, for instance, reports the work of the Y. W. C. A. in training 100 girls as nurses' aids and in the fundamentals of social work. This is rightly so. For the work of the State Divisions did not stop with transmitting or executing the general orders of the National Committee; it did not stop with standing on guard to maintain the second line of defense. Its work was to see that every woman in the land was doing her part in serving and strengthening her country. All the specific programs were but means to this end. The greatest means of all was the publicity. It did not matter to the Woman's Committee or State Divisions where or how this woman served. If she could make bandages, to the Red Cross she was sent; if she could Americanize Poles this was acceptable. If she did nothing but conserve food in her own kitchen, provided it was the extent of her ability to serve, well and good. The object of the Woman's Committee was to rouse her and to direct her to some field of endeavor. What she did in that field, therefore became a part of the achievement of the State Division. The attitude of the State Divisions may be compared to the feeling of a recruiting officer when one of the men he enrolls subsequently saves the Army. The officer did not save the Army, but he was the instrument by which the soldier was brought to his opportunity. The heroism, the glory, all belong to the soldier, but the officer may surely be proud of his part in the result. So, while the executive boards of the State Divisions may not have directed all the war work of the women in that State, while they may not even have planned it, they had a most important part in it, since on them rested the responsibility for seeing that the women did it.

One who calls himself an impartial observer has divided the State Divisions into classes A, B, and C.

Into class A, he puts Illinois, under the leadership of Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen; Minnesota, under Mrs. Thomas G. Winter; Michigan, under Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane; Ohio, under Miss Belle Sherwin; Wisconsin, under Mrs. Henry H. Morgan; Nebraska, under Miss Sarka B. Hrbkova; Missouri, under Mrs. B. F. Bush; Iowa, under Mrs. Francis E. Whitley. To these Middle Western States he adds Rhode Island, under the leadership of Mrs. Rush Sturges; Massachusetts, under Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer; Connecticut, under Miss Caroline Rutz-Rees; Pennsylvania, under Mrs. J. Willis Martin; Maryland, under Mrs. Edward Shoemaker; New Jersey, under Mrs.

Charles W. Stockton. The only State in the far west to stand in this class he gives as California, under leadership of Mrs. Herbert A. Cable.

Into class B he places Delaware, New Hampshire, New York, with the remark that this may be unfair to Delaware and overkind to New York. He adds from the west, Kansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and Utah; from the south, Arkansas, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Georgia.

The third class includes Maine, Vermont, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, South Dakota, Wyoming, Texas, Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Judged by acts, if one must be judged by definite acts, such a rating as this might be, to some extent, justified. But any such rating, to be fair, must take into consideration and weight, as does the statistician, the necessities, population, railroads, problems, and all the social and economic conditions that affect the result. Otherwise the rating may merely mean that the first State in class A is richer in money, in railroads, in women, in resources. Undoubtedly many of the Southern States worked under great handicaps. What they have accomplished in the way of results may mean more energy expended per worker, and may mean a greater gain, permanently, to the social body, than that of the States in class A. On the other hand some States had greater need for organization, greater opportunities for work. A State like Idaho with only a few industrial working women within its boundaries would not be inspired to make the sacrifices for organization that Rhode Island would, with its thousands of women in industry and its munition plants calling for thousands more. A State with a large percentage of colored women would be not be able to make as large returns of food cards as a State with a higher percentage for Americanism and literacy.

Besides the part played by geographic conditions, economic conditions, population, that which was called in an earlier chapter the "unfixed status" of women was largely responsible for results. Where the women had been accustomed to working together, where they had had some experience in dealing en masse with social and economic conditions, there were women ready trained to do this war work. Where the men recognized women's ability and the need they had for it, even when they did not accord them equality, the women of the State Divisions had some road of approach to the State exchequer. On the other hand, where this status was one of political equality, added to economic equality, such as the women in the far west enjoy, the women needed less and emphasized less a separate State Division organization.

To those who in the beginning wished to see all war organizations centralized after the military model and who said there should be a

great central authoritative committee to formulate specific programs of work, stimulate organization through trained and well equipped field secretaries, empowered to choose the best State executives without regard to local choice and demanding reports of every item on the program, and who might now say that such a plan would have increased the total of achievements of the Woman's Committee far in excess of what the committee can now call theirs, the Woman's Committee can answer with pride, "Look at our State Divisions." Whatever the Woman's Committee did or did not, there can be no question that the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee effectively and efficiently mobilized the women of America; that they led these women to the objectives set by the Woman's Committee and the Federal departments, and that by valor, courage, patience, and endurance finally captured them. To-day we know that the war ended just as civilians were ready to fight. But to have organized the American women so that they were working shoulder to shoulder was the great achievement of the State Divisions, to which every canvasser, every chairman, every worker contributed.

CHAPTER X.

ORGANIZATION DIFFICULTIES AND ADJUSTMENT.

Any adequate history of the Woman's Committee must be composed of many strands, but all these strands are wound about a central cable. There are various departments of work, each with a complete record of its own, with its own problems, its own accomplishments, and its own program; there are the various State Divisions, each complete, with its own problems and story to tell, but all of these wind in and out and about the history, the problems, and development of the committee which sat in Washington. Its policy and its decisions determined the direction of the others, just as the texture of the others determined the weight and strength of the whole. An understanding of its difficulties and of the manner in which it sought to overcome them, and finally evaded them, is necessary to any complete picture of the American women's war work.

The problem of the Woman's Committee was never an easy one. To direct the woman power of the country toward effective service with no precedent to guide it was difficult enough, but the difficulty was further complicated by duplications and misunderstandings that were entirely extraneous in their inception, but absolutely blockading in their effect. While the organization had been going forward and great achievements attained, the Committee had been slowly and steadily meeting the increasing difficulties of its position. Organized to be a channel, it found Federal departments proceeding to organize their own machinery in the States. Designed as the official director of woman's work, it found the State Councils planning to direct the women of the States, and chafing if they could not. The attitude of the Woman's Committee is clearly expressed in one of its letters to the Council of National Defense:

> It has seemed to the Woman's Committee that the existence and maintenance of a separate and inadequate machinery in each State for the execution of war measures of each department, in so far as they relate to women, is wasteful, uneconomical, and confusing; that the efforts of these different governmental agencies should be directed toward the development, improvement, and strengthening of one organization to carry out each project as it is suggested; that the present method is somewhat as if each shipper desiring to carry a load of freight from one point to another should build his own engine and lay his own separate tracks, instead of using the same engine and tracks for each load to be transported.

It must not be supposed that the desire of the committee for becoming the only medium between the Federal departments and the women, and also for closer cooperation with the State Councils, was an ideal born of an academic theory. Every State Division consistently and clearly reiterated to the Woman's Committee its own dire need for these two things. The lack of both, they claimed, was an obstruction to all good work on women's part. The Woman's Committee would not have performed its duty to these women if it had not unceasingly sought to remove these obstacles to success from their path.

When in December, 1917, the time arrived for the committee to make its report to the Council of National Defense, that document was accompanied by recommendations which were framed after much deliberation and thought, as offering some relief from the entanglement of the situation, and as looking to an increase of efficient results. This letter asked that an effort be made by the council to have the Woman's Committee made the medium through which all governmental agencies should seek to interest and to reach the women of the country, the need for coordination being clear and apparent. The committee had been used by the Department of Agriculture, Food Administration, Liberty Loan Committee, Civil Service Commission, Medical Section of the Council, the Children's Bureau, Committee on Public Information, and the Commercial Economy Board. It suggested that its State organizations, of which there were then 48, offered a direct channel for these departments. It further suggested that a closer cooperation between the State Divisions and the State Councils seemed advisable. As a means to that end it suggested that the "Connecticut Plan" be adopted by other State Councils to secure this cooperation in a practical way.

The recommendations then took up each Federal department, and giving a report of what had been done by the Woman's Committee to serve that department, stated its desire to serve it further, with brief suggestions as to the manner in which the service might be rendered.

In particular this letter urged the Council to secure a closer cooperation with the Food Administration, in order that the machinery of the Woman's Committee should be directly utilized for the purpose of transmitting the plans of the Food Administration, so far as they concerned the women of the country. In fact this was a demand made constantly through the war by women workers everywhere. It asked, "In view of the fact that the committee was organized primarily to 'consider women's defense work for the Nation' in deciding questions involving the work of women," that

the Woman's Committee should be called into conference on questions involving woman labor. It also recommended a system of woman patrols around camps, similar to that used in England.

The report and letter were read in full at the meeting of the council, December 11, and thoroughly discussed, after which it was decided that all the committee's recommendations pertaining to the various Federal agencies, both permanent and emergency, should be referred to these agencies. On the question of woman patrols, however, the council did ask for further information, with detailed recommendations. The director was instructed to plan for better cooperation between the State Councils and State Divisions of the Woman's Committee, and also to draft an appropriate letter, expressing to the committee the appreciation of the council for the constructive work being carried on by the Woman's Committee, and requesting it to continue along the lines indicated in its effort as modified by the specific action of the council, which modification consisted of referring all recommendations to the Federal departments. As nothing further was heard from these recommendations and the situation continued as before, the members of the committee asked themselves if it would not be better to suggest to the council that the committee, having no authority to do the things it had been appointed to do, had better, in the interests of all concerned, go out of existence. The action suggested, however, met with the disapproval of the council, and the women, desiring above all else to take the course that would make for victory, withheld their own wishes in the matter and continued valiantly to seek for a way out of their difficulties.

In January another attempt was made by the committee to arrive at some new and workable plan. But again an impasse seemed to have been reached. In February, 1918, the Council of National Defense authorized the Woman's Committee to call a conference of the chairmen and certain representatives of the State Divisions. At that meeting, to be held in May, which was designed primarily to bring these officers in touch with the whole situation, the matter could be discussed with those who were in direct contact with the difficulties in the field. Again and again, in speaking of the work, the members of the National Committee had said: "So long as we have big women in the States, no obstacle and no problem can stop the splendid accomplishment of American women." This conference would bring together these big women of the States, representative of all that is best and most self-sacrificing in American womanhood, whose earnestness, strained eagerness, wise caution, and frank recognition of facts justified the message sent them by the President:

The work which has been undertaken by the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense has my warm approval and support. Already what the committee has been able to accomplish has been most encouraging, and has ex-

ceeded the first expectations of those who were instrumental in constituting it. Many barriers have been broken down, many new ties of sympathy and cooperation established, and a new spirit of cooperation and of devotion to a common cause aroused, circumstances which are not only of the greatest immediate service to the Nation, but which promise many fine things for the future. I hope that the conference to be held on May 13, 14, and 15 will be fruitful of the finest results.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

The conference was held May 13, 14, and 15. It was called by the 250 women who attended it, the greatest inspiration of their lives, and indeed the great speech of Dr. Shaw, at the public meeting in the D. A. R. Memorial Hall, was quite enough to inspire anyone, as she ended:

I see in every stripe of red the blood of every man and woman and their aspiration for that Democracy for which we are fighting to-day; and in every stripe of white I see purity of democracy, that great spiritual and definitely uplifting power; and in every star in that field of blue, I see the hope of the world, and we are all straining and straining to see the stars and stripes and our boys in khaki going over the top.

And so because of the symbols of our standards, and because of the ideals upon which we are so intent, and because of the hope that, by the service and sacrifice of men and women, our nation may incorporate the ideals of the flag, we women offer to our President and to our country our service.

Impressive, indeed, it must have been to listen to the secretaries and the representatives of the Federal agencies, one by one, as they appealed to the women of the country. What the set program was mattered nothing. Even the honor paid them by the Chief Executive of the Land, as he and Mrs. Wilson received the delegates in the East Room of the White House, sunk into insignificance as compared with the determination of these earnest devoted women to face all difficulties and find a way out of them.

During the three days a conference of the State representatives of each department of work was held and every problem was discussed. Each conference and discussion brought out the same insistent questions: What is the relation of the Woman's Committee to Federal Committees appealing to women for help such as the Liberty Loan Committee and Food Administration? What is the financial backing of the Woman's Committee and the official standing of the Woman's Committee as a governmental agency? These questions were reiterated again and again as women held before their eyes a clear-cut picture of an efficient machine and sought for methods of making and running one.

The whole meeting was tense with pent-up emotion. These women, many of them, were mothers of boys even then marching off to eternity. The youngest State Chairman was bidding goodby that very week to her soldier husband. They had come from all

parts of the country to lay before their chiefs their reports of the big task well done: The organization of their States. They had come to say, "Now we are ready, all else was preparation. Tell us the task and it shall be done." For three days they listened to speeches from women newly returned from the devastated fields of war-torn France with the tears running down their cheeks, not tears that weaken, but the tears that are baptismal waters of consecration. In the end, emotion gave way to determination, variously expressed and apparent to all who saw these women or shared their counsels but epitomized in these words: "We pledge ourselves to see this war through no matter how hard the road, nor who places obstacles there, nor what those obstacles are, nor how they get there. We represent the women of this country, we mean to help."

In other words, the departments might continue to give orders that confused them, finances be a problem, State Councils make difficulties. But the women of the States would march on, doing what they were asked to do, reporting when told to do so, filling as many lanes as were opened up by the Government, striving to overcome difficulties, and to bridge differences, as long as the Woman's Committee kept at its task of strengthening these valiant souls forced to do their work without recognition, a hard and difficult way.

After the three days, the conference passed a set of resolutions embodying the opinions and hopes of this representative group of patriotic women. These resolutions are not to be read lightly. They set forth in a large way the extent and the interest of women war workers. In regard to labor questions and to food, they went into great detail, giving suggestions for effective service. They reiterated women's keen desire to serve. They asked that women, in order to fulfill their obligations as women citizens of the United States, be given the opportunity to serve in such direct cooperation as made possible the magnificent work of the English women, outlining a way to cooperate through the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we respectfully urge upon the President of the United States the immediate consideration of the following requests:

First. That on all Government boards and commissions controlling the work of women or affecting their interests one or more properly qualified women shall be associated with the central direction and administration in positions of authority and responsibility.

Second. That whenever great bodies of women are employed in war work the conditions under which they work and live shall be under the immediate supervision and control of women officials with adequate authority.

Third. That in order to secure the highest efficiency at the present time we respectfully urge that women be appointed to the following positions:

(*a*) Assistant Federal Food Administrator.

(*b*) Assistant Director for Housing, who shall deal with the housing of women workers.

(*c*) An Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor in charge of a woman's division, who shall deal with all questions of the employment, work, and living conditions of women in war industries and women on the land.

(*d*) Members of the War Council on the American Red Cross and also Deputy Commissioner in the Red Cross work abroad.

Fourth. That the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, which has been designated by the Government as the official representative of all women's organizations, be permitted to make recommendations for the above and other positions.

Another resolution asking for further opportunity for unlimited service ended with a statement of the committee's valuation of its ability to serve.

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense puts on record its desire to cooperate in the future as in the past, to the full of its capacity, with all governmental agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Food and Fuel Administrations, the Red Cross, the Liberty Loan Committee, the War Savings Committee, the Children's Bureau, the Commission on Training Camp Activities, and such other authoritative agencies as are necessary to the successful prosecution of the war.

That we respectfully request that none of the above governmental agencies will hesitate to put their full requirements (however drastic they may be) before the Woman's Committee. In making this request, our wish is to spare these agencies the time and effort necessary to educating us by half measures, as we believe our understanding, organization, and temper are now equal to meeting the ultimate necessities.

The final resolutions read:

Whereas the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense was appointed by the Council of National Defense to coordinate the war work of the women of America in order that the woman power of the Nation might be made available in the prosecution of the war, and that women might have a place and a part in this great National undertaking, and

Whereas the women of America are not only willing but eager to render war service, and have responded loyally and efficiently, by organized and individual effort, to every request and appeal of the Federal Government, and, through the various branches of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, have provided an efficient working machinery for the carrying on of all kinds of war work among women in every State in the United States, and

Whereas the experience of the other nations at war and our own experience so far has shown that efficient accomplishment is dependent upon close coordination and cooperation, and that duplication and friction and misunderstanding result from lack of unity in purpose and effort: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That we, the heads of the various divisions of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense and the department chairmen of such organizations in conference assembled, Washington, D. C., May 13, 14, and 15, 1918, urgently request the Council of National Defense to direct its various committees to conduct all war work among women through the channel which was provided by the Council of National Defense at the beginning of the war for this purpose, namely, the Woman's Committee and its branches, and to recommend similar action to all other governmental agencies conducting war work among the women of the country;

And be it further resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the heads of the departments of the Government in Washington, to the members of the Council of National Defense, and to the heads of all authorized governmental agencies organized for war work.

These resolutions indicate that women of the State Divisions not only wanted recognition and utilization both by State Councils and Federal Government, but recognition of women on the part of the various departments.

The resolutions were subsequently adopted by the Woman's Committee in executive session and on May 27 were presented to the Council of National Defense. A resolution which requested closer relationship with the State Councils was approved and the Director of the Council was asked to draft a letter laying the circumstances before the State Councils. There was found to be no objection to permitting the women to set before the President the resolution urging the appointment of women to important positions in the Government. In connection with the resolution urging the Federal departments to use the machinery of the Committee, there was discussed a telegram from Secretary Lane, who, on his way home from a trip to Hawaii, had wired from Chicago:

In talking to-day with Samuel Insull, chairman of State Council of Defense, he suggested advisability of asking representatives from each of the State Councils to come to Washington for a business conference in which there would also participate representatives of Treasury, Fuel, Food, and other administrations, so that friction which has arisen by reason of multiplicity would be eliminated. He has a strong, active, and efficient organization throughout the State, but says there is a constant movement from Washington to deal directly with local organizations which makes against the State Council's authority.

Then followed, according to the Council's minutes, "a discussion of the general question of securing proper harmony and cooperation between the various executive departments of the Government and the State Councils of Defense, particularly with reference to the friction created by setting up new agencies in the States for work which the State Councils and the Woman's Committee felt their organizations could handle. The sense of the meeting was in favor of the suggestion that each Government department might appoint its own representative in each State, it being understood, however, that the existing organizations of the State Councils and the Woman's Committee would be used to the fullest possible extent under the direction of such representative and that the State Councils and the Woman's Committee should afford the closest cooperation and assistance. The chairman was requested to lay the matter before the President, action on the suggestion made by Mr. Samuel B. Insull and the question raised by Dr. Shaw meanwhile to be held in abeyance."

When the letter asking for closer cooperation between the State Division and State Council, drafted at the request of the council, was

presented to the Woman's Committee for its approval, it was found to be but a reaffirmation of the policy agreed to in the preceding July. Since difficulties had multiplied increasingly during the time it was in effect, the committee could not see that its reaffirmation would help matters, and did not approve it. At the same time it presented its resignation to the chairman of the council in order to leave the council free to adopt any solution of the difficulties that seemed wise. Secretary Baker wrote President Wilson on June 15, describing the work of the committee and asking whether the President did not feel it should continue. A reply was written under date of June 19:

Replying to your letter of June 15, I entirely concur in the judgment of the Council of National Defense that not only is the usefulness of the Woman's Committee of the council not at an end, but that it is indispensable that the committee continue to exercise the function originally assigned to it. I believe that it would be possible, and it is certainly desirable, for the council to bring about such a conference between the women's organizations of the Treasury Department, the Food Administration, and such other departments as have organized auxiliary committees of women as would coordinate what I entirely agree with you in thinking it is not desirable to have separated, and if I can assist in any way in effecting such a coordination, you may count upon my assistance.

I think we should not only continue the Woman's Committee, but that we should in every way seek to assist the committee in performing its functions, in enriching them, and in adding to them along appropriate lines.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

The answer to this was a letter to the chairman of the council, dated June 26, giving a frank statement of the committee's difficulties and problems, and an appeal, straight and direct, for relief. Stating concisely what this history has covered in some detail—the creation of the committee, its endeavors and its difficulties in the way of realizing them, the letter offered a clear-cut plan:

1. That there should be one War Board or other Federal agency, composed of women and charged with the duty of coordinating the war work of women, both organized and unorganized, and that of creating a direct channel between the Government and the women of the country.

That for this purpose such a State machinery as has been created by the present Woman's Committee is capable of far more intensive organization than now exists, and that no better or more effective medium could be found for the purpose of stimulating and directing the war activities of women and transmitting for effective execution the war measures of the Government in so far as they relate to women.

2. That this committee or War Board should be appointed by the President and be accountable to him.

3. That it should be given an appropriation for its work which should be directly at the disposal of the committee itself.

4. That it should be authorized to appoint its representatives in the States.

5. That in providing a channel for the use of existing executive departments and Federal agencies, this Board should have power to initiate methods of procedure, especially adapted to the carrying out of such war measures as are peculiarly the province of women.

That all executive departments and Federal agencies should be advised of the fact that this Board has, as one of its objects, the enlistment of the services of all the women in the country and that they should be requested to use the State machinery for any and every war measure in which the cooperation of women is desired.

That such divisions of the various governmental agencies as direct the activities of women should formulate their plans and present them to the Woman's War Board to be transmitted to the State Divisions for execution.

It is the belief of the present Woman's Committee that a central organization to carry out all women's war work in the States is the only effective kind of an organization for this purpose and that other plans and methods are disintegrating in their effect.

The powers and functions of such a Board, while limited to the execution of the war measures of the Government in so far as they relate to women, would nevertheless be very great; and the present Woman's Committee earnestly recommends that such a Board be appointed by the President, composed of women of sufficient wisdom and discretion to be entrusted safely with such powers.

To understand the relief offered the Woman's Committee by this plan it is necessary to hark back once more to what has been called the "unfixed status," and to remember that the appointment of the Woman's Committee was an effort on the part of the Government to even up this status by recognition. This recognition was useful, however, only in so far as the Government could enforce it. Believing the appointment conveyed this authority, the committee had organized its State Divisions only to discover that as a committee of the Council of National Defense it had no power to enforce recognition of its divisions either by Federal departments or State Councils.

The plan outlined by the committee provided for the appointment of a Woman's War Board by the President, to report directly to him, as did the Food Administrator. Such an appointment would give the committee the status enjoyed by every other body appointed by the President, and the women could, therefore, go to the Federal departments and to State Councils with an authority that must receive recognition. This, at least, was the belief and argument of the Woman's Committee when it presented this letter to the council. With this idea the council did not agree. In its opinion the direct Presidential appointment was not advisable. At its meeting the opinion was expressed that the solution to the difficulties had not yet been found.

The question persistently asks itself, "Since the council did not approve the only plan the committee suggested, why did it not

accept the resignations of this committee and try another which might have a plan in line with the council's ideas?"

The answer is so fairly simple that it might be easily overlooked. The council was completely satisfied with the Woman's Committee. All that it asked was that the Woman's Committee should be satisfied with itself. This the committee, with a complete picture in its mind of its field of usefulness and a realization ever present of the difficulties in the way of occupying it, could not be.

The whole question of what women could do and what women should do, and how they could do it, was so new to any governmental agency that from the men's point of view all that was accomplished was just that much to the good. Every step taken was to the men "an amazing one." They could not guess it seemed more "amazing" to the women in the light of how much more could have been done and should have been done, that the men should so appraise it. That the whole experiment of this official recognition of woman and of her injection into the work of the council as one of the resources of the Nation was tried out under men so liberal in their views, so sympathetic in their attitude, must ever be cause for gratitude among women who seek further opportunity for service.

Though the council did not agree to the plan described in the committee's letter of July 26, which may be said to have set forth completely the ideas of the committee as to the difficulties in the way of women's war work and a way out of them, it agreed with the position taken by the committee that the efficiency of women's war work was utterly dependent on the women's right to decide for themselves what they should do and how they should do it, and that this right could only be secured under the unfixed status by some official recognition of women's right to control their activities. Where there arose a difference of opinion between the council and the committee it was as to how this recognition could best be secured. It was suggested by the director of the council that a letter from the President asking the various Federal departments to use the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee might help in this direction. It was also suggested that a commission of women from the Allies, which had been discussed once before by the committee, bringing a message to the women of this country might have the same effect, if this commission came under the auspices of the Woman's Committee. Greater support from the council in presenting the advantages which the machinery of the Woman's Committee offered to other governmental agencies was also suggested. The Woman's Committee did not think these proposed remedies would bring about the desired result.

When the committee found that there was no possibility of securing a recognition that would give the State Divisions weight with

the State Councils by means of a presidential appointment of a Woman's Commission or Board, it set about for other means whereby it might obtain for these State Divisions the desired recognition.

To recapitulate, the situation, simply stated, was this: A Federal Woman's Committee had organized the women into State Divisions without a means of support; in the States there was also a machine to do war work for all the people, including women, financed by State appropriations. The women in the States wished to continue their connection with the Federal Woman's Committee, because by this connection they were enabled to maintain some executive control over their work, but they wished the State Councils to finance their work from the State appropriation. There were other questions involved that need not be discussed here. The chief problem of Woman's Committee was to secure financial assistance for the women without their losing executive control over their work.

In the first place, the Committee could count on the willingness of the Council of National Defense to give the women all the authority and recognition in its power. In the second, the State Councils of Defense were accustomed to receiving suggestions from the council. With these two things in mind, the Committee set about to frame suggestions that would accomplish the desired result. In this endeavor it had the help of the Secretary of the Interior, who had always been interested in the Woman's Committee and particularly so since his visit to Chicago had brought him into direct contact with the problems of the State Defense bodies.

Now the State Councils received the instructions and suggestions from the council through what was known as the State Councils Section, previously referred to in this history as the Section on Cooperation with the States. In no sense could this section be considered coequal in status to the Woman's Committee, which was an advisory committee of the council. The function of the State Councils Section was merely administrative. On matters of administrative detail, however, the Woman's Committee often came into contact with this State Councils Section. It occurred to Secretary Lane, therefore, that the union of the staff of the Woman's Committee with the State Councils Section, under an entirely new board, might set an example to the State Councils of the proper amalgamation of the work of men and women that would ultimately lead to an amalgamation of the State Councils and State Divisions.

On July 11, 1918, Secretary Lane wrote a letter to Secretary Baker setting forth his suggestions:

I have given considerable thought to the letter sent to the council by Dr. Shaw, chairman of the Woman's Committee, and have had a talk with her and other members of that committee. The first conclusion that I have arrived at is that the trouble as to this committee would not be in any way

assuaged or avoided by the constitution of a presidential committee such as has been suggested. My second conclusion is that women ought to be identified with our work and that the organization throughout the States which these women have effected should be retained, but I think it will be necessary to dissolve the Woman's Committee as such.

To meet the situation I suggest that a committee of 10 be appointed, 5 men and 5 women, who shall be the committee representing the Council of National Defense having charge of all the work done through the State Councils of Defense and the State Woman's Committees; in other words, create a new organization made up of men and women who will direct the work of all these organizations which we have throughout the country, with their State Councils of Defense or women's organizations of one kind and another, merging the State Councils Division with the Woman's Committee.

We should select these 10 people and let them organize themselves into a small executive committee and an executive head, who should deal with us through Mr. Gifford. The five women might be taken from the present Woman's Committee, and I think this should be done. We should associate with them five representative men of some national importance. This larger committee would function through an executive committee that would have an executive office. By this means we can make use of all the organizations the Woman's Committee has. They would then become blended with the State Councils. That this is practicable and would meet the full needs of the situation the women with whom I have talked agree. This being done they would not think it necessary to have any presidential appointment or to continue the present Woman's Committee.

Since such an amalgamation would involve ultimately the entire defense work of men and women in the States and would also greatly affect the status of women, it was necessary for the details to be worked out with great care. After many conferences between the members of the Woman's Committee, the members of the Council of Defense, its acting director, Mr. Clarkson, it was agreed that the new organism should be known as the Field Division of the Council of National Defense; that its governing board should consist of six men and six women of national prominence, with Secretary Lane as chairman; and that the work of both the State Councils and State Divisions should be administered by the new division.

On August 31, 1918, the resolution thus perfected was forwarded to the Woman's Committee. It read as follows:

Resolved, That the Council of National Defense hereby create a subordinate body to be known as the Field Division of the Council of National Defense, said Field Division to be presided over by the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, and the governing body of said Field Division, in addition to the Secretary of the Interior, to be composed of five men and five women; that Secretary Lane present to the council the names of the five men to be selected and that the Woman's Committee present to the council the names of ten women from whom five shall be selected by the council to act on the said governing body, and that the Woman's Committee also recommend to the council the names of women who, in the judgment of the Woman's Committee, shall be qualified to act as director of the women's activities forming a part of said Field Division to the end that such a director be selected; that the selection of a man as director of the activities of said Field Division, other

than those pertaining exclusively to the activities of women, be deferred until a later date, and that the organization of the State Councils Section as now existing be utilized as it is now composed in respect of personnel to carry on the present duties of coordinating the activities of the State Councils of Defense.

It is agreed that the Woman's Committee of the council as at present constituted shall continue until such time as the Field Division shall be permanently established, and it has been demonstrated that a loss of morale need not be feared in connection with the direction of women's activities for the war throughout the country; the Woman's Committee in the meanwhile transferring to the Field Division, as rapidly as the Field Division shall be able to take care of it, all of the work now being done by the Woman's Committee through its State Divisions.

The Woman's Committee begged to be relieved of the duty of nominating to the council the names of 10 women for membership on the Field Division, but stated that it was the judgment of the other members of the committee that three of the existing Woman's Committee, namely, Dr. Shaw, the chairman, Mrs. Lamar, chairman of organization, and Miss Patterson, resident director, should be placed on the Governing Board. The Woman's Committee also asked that the director of women's activities be made associate director of the Field Division, and recommended that Miss Patterson be appointed to that position.

Miss Tarbell moved that the Woman's Committee pledge itself to make the transfer of the activities relating to the State Divisions as promptly and smoothly as possible, and at all times to do its utmost to make the work of the Field Division effective.

It should be noted that the Woman's Committee was continued in an advisory capacity.

At a meeting of the council on September 16, further plans for the new Field Division were made. There were selected for the Governing Board the following well-known men: Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense; George L. Berry of Tennessee, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America; Fuller Callaway, of Georgia, H. M. Robinson of California, and R. M. Bissell, of Connecticutt. Five equally well-known women were also chosen, as follows: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar, Mrs. Stanley J. McCormick, and Miss Agnes Nestor. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was chosen for vice-chairman of the Governing Board, of which Secretary Lane had already consented to act as chairman. Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary of the Council and later its Director, was made director of the Field Division as well, and Miss Hannah J. Patterson, associate director. In addition to holding these executive positions, both Mr. Clarkson and Miss Patterson were named as members of the board, thus making a total of six men and six women.

From the standpoint of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee the appointment of Secretary Lane to the chairmanship of the governing board, and of Mr. Clarkson to the directorship of the Field Division, were equally happy, since the liberal attitude of both toward woman's work and their entire sympathy with the purposes of the Woman's Committee gave assurance that under their direction the policy of the Field Division would lead to such inclusion of women in the planning of the work as the committee had from the first desired.

On September 19 announcement of the creation of the Field Division was given to the public, and on September 18 a letter sent to the State Chairmen of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee explaining the new alignment. "For some time," said Dr. Shaw, "it has been apparent to the Woman's Committee that some plan should be devised by which the service of the whole people should be coordinated; that it was impossible to separate the work of men from that of women; that it is illogical that the one should be sanctioned, directed, and financed by the State, while the other is sanctioned and directed by the Government in Washington, although obliged to look to the State for financial support, or failing that, to depend upon voluntary contribution from private resources."

The advantages to the State Divisions of the amalgamation were obvious. The messages of the Government would now come to them from one source and from one channel. To those State Divisions that had been serving as divisions of the State Council of Defense as well, that would mean a great saving of time and energy, since they would not have to receive two messages and check one against the other. Since a Cabinet officer was chairman of the Field Division, the work in the States would be brought into intimate touch with the Government, while the fact that both women and men would serve on the governing board gave assurance to the women of the State Divisions that their needs would be considered and that the measures proposed would be adapted to the capacity and requirements of women as well as men. By its creation, the State Divisions were brought to as direct a connection with the Federal Government, beyond any question, as the State Councils. Never again could there be an argument as to which had the closest connection since both had the same.

To the women this meant a great deal. It meant that for the first time women were placed beside men in a position of Federal authority, of deciding on what should or should not be done. It meant that, though asked to join with the men in their States, they were not losing the hand the Woman's Committee had held out to them all through their war experiences, a clasp that meant "Be of good cour-

age; since we represent you here, you are not servants, but copartners in this war service."

It must not be inferred from the fact that the Woman's Committee accepted the formation of the field division that it considered this a perfect solution. From the first the Woman's Committee had accepted the task laid upon it and addressed itself to meeting it with the resources and equipment at its command. It did not, however, believe that it should limit its success by its obstacles. In finding a way around some of these obstacles it had sought reorganization as a development that would take it further on its way of accomlishment. Failing the acceptance of its own plan of reorganization, it accepted this as a workable substitute.

Had it been possible in April, 1917, to have appointed a field division and said "Go forth and organize men and women in the States, giving to both men and women equal representation in these State Councils," time and energy might have been saved. At that time such an appointment would not have been made. Before a field division, giving recognition to women equal to that given men, could be established by a council resolution, it was necessary for the women of America to organize themselves.

Having first organized the women of the States, the Woman's Committee was able to bring to the field division, when it was created, 50 divisions, including territories, each with its own leader and director, all enjoying the confidence of the women of their States and trained to the needs of the hour. This organization, built up by the Woman's Committee, made it possible to create a field division with true equality of authority and an equal acceptance of the work of men and women.

"The lesson of to-day," wrote Dr. Shaw, "is union, and in a deeper sense than we have ever before realized. All the old catchwords and shopworn phrases about cooperation and combination become quick and vital; burned into our consciousness by the fire through which we are passing and by which we are being tried. At last our soldiers are united in one body and fighting under one leader in France; our industries and our public utilities are combined into weapons of offense, not less effective than the guns which thunder so close to the German border; all of our available man power is listed and pledged, and the time is overripe when the civilian men and women of the nation should join hands in one vast reserve to stand invincibly back of our battle lines."

CHAPTER XI.

WHERE THE ARMISTICE FOUND THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE.

Beginning with the creation of the Field Division, the history of the Woman's Committee falls into two parts, the part that has to do with the departments of work and the activities of the State Divisions, and the part that is concerned with the advisory function of the committee which did not pass over to the Field Division. Thereafter, the first part is lodged in the history of the Field Division, and had the war continued would have lost its identity as Woman's Committee history. But since the armistice was signed only six weeks after this event, it is possible so to disentangle the threads that this stage of the Woman's Committee may be set forth without going into a discussion of the activities of the entire Field Division, dealing with State Councils.

On October 1, 1918, the staff of the Woman's Committee moved from its beautiful home at 1814 N Street, into an office building at 1217 Connecticut Avenue, where it was merged with the staff of what had been the State Councils Section, into the staff of the Field Division. The story of this merger is worth recording, not that its details were of great importance compared with the question of policy which had passed from the Woman's Committee to the governing board of the division, but because it offered an interesting example of an attempt to amalgamate the work of men and women. As told in chapter 7, the women in the States were accustomed to working through the departments of the Woman's Committee. On the other hand the work suggested to the State Councils by the State Council Section, had consisted of a series of unrelated campaigns or suggestions for work. It was thought advisable to continue as far as possible the plan established by the Woman's Committee, until an amalgamation of some kind had taken place between the State Divisions and the State Councils. When the work of these departments dealt with the State Divisions it was directed and the correspondence signed by the women who had previously served as executives of the Woman's Committee. In this way the women in the States did not feel that their connection with the Woman's Committee, which, in many cases, seemed to them a personal one, was severed. The work of dealing with the State Councils was left largely to the men who had staffed the State Councils Section.

Those departments that had existed in both the Woman's Committee and State Councils Section were combined under one head. Americanization was placed in charge of Mrs. Martha Evans Martin, of the Woman's Committee; the Speakers Bureaus and Community Singing in charge of Mr. Frederick L. Allen; organization and information were combined, under Mr. Elliott D. Smith, with Miss Ruth Wilson as assistant; News with Miss Tarbell as chief, and Mr. D. M. Reynolds as executive. Of the departments that had existed in the Woman's Committee alone, Women in Industry and Food Production and Home Economics became part of a newly created section with Mr. John S. Cravens as chief and Mrs. Samuel B. Harding and Miss Atwater of the Woman's Committee and a newcomer to the council, Miss Grace Frysinger, as assistants to look after the work of these departments respectively and maintain connections with the women of the State Divisions; Child Welfare with Dr. Peixotto of Woman's Committee as chairman was taken over bodily by the Field Division and rechristened Child Conservation Section. Later when Dr. Peixotto was recalled by the University of California, Mrs. Ina J. N. Perkins became chief of this section of the Field Division. The departments of Registration, Home and Foreign Relief, Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies, Liberty Loan and Health and Recreation were discontinued. An Office Management Section was established under Mr. C. L. Buehl who had been secretary of the State Councils Section. It will thus be seen that the department work of the Woman's Committee, though organized under different heads, continued much as before.

Though interesting, neither this amalgamation of the staffs of the Woman's Committee and the State Councils Section, nor the passing of the function of the Woman's Committee to a governing board composed of six men and six women, were offered to the State Divisions and State Councils as an example to be followed in the States. In point of fact the Field Division left to the State bodies wide leeway in the application of a general policy. "It is hoped and expected," said a letter signed jointly by Secretary Lane and Dr. Shaw, "that a policy of joint action will be adopted wherever possible, and that amalgamation of the work of women with that of men shall be the ultimate aim of every State." The expression of this hope and this expectation, was the beginning of the effort to secure from State Councils the recognition for the work of women which the Woman's Committee had so long sought. It was recognized that in each particular State the State Council and State Division must have wide choice as to the manner in which the amalgamation should be worked out, but that women representing the State Divisions should have a voice in making State Council plans after the State Divisions merged into

State Councils was considered essential. No other amalgamation would be regarded as fulfilling the Field Division plan. Equal representation of men and women, such as the governing board of the Field Division offered, was not asked since it was recognized that many interests, commercial, industrial, and professional, which might better be represented by men, must be included on a State board, but the Field Division insisted on the principle that women should have a voice in the decisions of the council.

Although patterns for amalgamation were discussed and the governing board wished amalgamation in the States, the difficulties of putting through any uniform plan of reorganization in the States were recognized, and no immediate suggestions were made either to State Councils or State Divisions. Secretary Lane, however, was impatient of delay, and at his instance a telegram was drafted in accordance with what had been called "the Connecticut plan" and on October 11 was sent to both State Councils and State Divisions. This telegram stated:

Council National Defense strongly urges immediate amalgamation State Council and State Woman's Division. Details should be arranged in conference between State Councils and Woman's Division Executive Committee. As far as compatible with local conditions and statutes, following basis of amalgamation is recommended: One, creation of single Council Defense organization for entire State representing women as well as men by including State Councils, and in Governing Committee more than one woman. Two, inclusion of women in all committees whose work at all concerns women, merging existing departments of Woman's Divisions with existing committees of State Council wherever possible, changes in chairmanship being made as occasion demands. Three, constitution of remaining committees of Woman's Division as standing committees of the council. Four, creation of small Woman's Executive Committee to keep in touch with voluntary organizations of women and to advise State Council in regard to conduct of special campaigns primarily of interest to women, and the development and maintenance of the council organization in such way as to most effectively reach all women. In this reorganization personnel of existing committees should be retained as far as consistent with highest efficiency. Wherever statutory provision or other circumstances prevent the immediate adoption of these fundamental provisions, the nearest possible approximation thereto should be effected and an effort be made to secure amendments of the statutes and otherwise to bring about the ultimate attainment of these principles.

FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Chairman Field Division, Council National Defense,
and Secretary of the Interior.

Some confusion resulted. Many of the State Councils felt they were being rushed. Others misunderstood the purpose and plan of amalgamation. From the correspondence with the State Divisions it was plain that they, too, failed to understand the meaning and intention of the merger. Some of them felt that they had been deserted, that the strong backing afforded them by their connection with the

Woman's Committee had been withdrawn, and that they had been forced into the arms of the State Council. Far from this being the case, the position of the State Divisions had been strengthened, for the Field Division of the council held that any State Division was entirely justified in remaining out of any reorganization that did not give the women the recognition that would make their work effective. The burden of refusing the women financial aid, together with recognition, thereafter would rest with the State Councils.

Some of the State Divisions welcomed Secretary Lane's telegram as bringing the relief they craved. Still others hailed it as a sign that the Government at Washington recognized the importance of women's war work and realized that the amalgamation was a great step in the partnership of men and women. There were still a few State Divisions who desired a closer relationship with their State Councils, but thought that better work could be accomplished by keeping the women's organization intact. Such objections could have been met, however, by having these State Divisions made a part of the State Councils, with a larger representation on the State Council. Had the war continued, this would probably have been the solution in the majority of the States. If this had come to pass and the stress and strain of war had brought men and women to their full capacity for work and sacrifice, not only of time and money, but of prejudices as well, it is more than likely that several years of such partnership would have caused the dividing line between men's and women's interests to disappear and have altered the present system of dividing tasks.

During the month that elapsed between the sending of Secretary Lane's telegram and the signing of the armistice little progress was actually made in the way of amalgamation of State Divisions with State Councils. So various were the ideas as to what constituted amalgamation, and so quickly were well-laid plans altered by the armistice, that it is impossible to give an accurate account of what was actually accomplished in this direction.

Nine States protested that their present organization fulfilled the spirit if not the letter of the council's plan. Eight others reported plans for more or less thorough reorganization, which were never put into effect. In five States the State Division became virtually the State Council's Committee on women's work; and in another, where statutory limitations made true amalgamation difficult, a joint "steering committee" was organized. Three States, in the end, achieved actual amalgamation, closely approaching the plan put forth by the Field Division, and in two of these instances the chairman of the State Divisions became vice chairman of the reorganized State Council.

While the State Divisions and the State Councils were discussing their reorganization, the Field Division in Washington was completing the Federal organization that was ultimately to serve the reorganized State Divisions, and in the meantime, through a system of bulletins and circulars, was keeping both State agencies in touch with the Federal work.

In addition a statement of the achievements of the State Councils and a standing program of work for the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee were issued, and the first number of the new magazine, The National Defense, appeared, replacing the monthly News Letter of the Woman's Committee, and the Noteworthy Activities circular of the State Councils.

During the period that reorganization in the States pended, the Field Division was able to be of service to the State Divisions in many ways. For a long time the Woman's Committee had felt the need of field secretaries to bring the women of the State into closer touch with Washington, but lack of funds had prevented them from making such appointments. With the increased funds at its disposal, the new Field Division was able to supply this need. The governing board, which had already decided upon field representatives for New England, the northeastern territory, the South and the Southwest, asked the women of the board to suggest the names of one or two women to serve as field secretaries among the State divisions. Since the very first appointment of temporary chairmen the State Divisions had been clamoring for the franking privilege. Various efforts had been made by the Women's Committee to secure it for them, but with no success. Now, the Field Division was able to induce the Post Office Department to approve the granting of the frank to a "Federal Field Secretary of the Council of National Defense" in each State, and the State Divisions were asked to join the State Councils in the nomination of such a secretary.

Thus by November 1, 1918, within a few weeks after the creation of the Field Division the State Divisions had profited to some degree from the amalgamation at Washington. The amalgamation in the States had been set under way. The purpose of the Woman's Committee was on the way to realization. This purpose received a still greater stimulus in a way not expected. When the committee had abandoned its plan for a Woman's War Board it had temporarily abandoned its efforts to secure for the State Divisions greater recognition from the Federal agencies of the one-channel theory. The committee had turned its entire attention to relieving the complication between the State Divisions and the State Councils only to find that the solution of one difficulty promised help in solving the other.

As explained in chapter 3, the one-channel theory had been held for the State Councils as well as for the State Divisions. This theory had nothing to do with the unfixed status of women. The difficulty in applying it was a complication inherent in the Federal and State system. The appointment of a member of the Cabinet to head the governing board of the Field Division promised some relief from that difficulty, since by this means there was given to the State defense system greater recognition as a Federal agency. This importance was further emphasized by a letter from the President to Secretary Lane, expressing his own desire that this defense system be employed whenever possible.

I am very glad to hear of the creation of the Field Division of the Council of National Defense, which, by amalgamating the executive functions of the State Councils Section and the Woman's Committee of the council, has become the single connecting link between the council and the other Federal departments and administrations, on the one hand, and the State Councils of Defense and State Divisions of the Woman's Committee, on the other. I have already had occasion more than once to express my warm appreciation of the accomplishments of the State Councils and the national organization of the Woman's Committee. It seems to me that the action which you have now taken, recognizing as it does a policy of joint action and common effort on the part of men and women, is sound in principle and serves the interest of efficiency. It is gratifying to know that this policy has already been followed in a large number of States, and I am sure that you will agree with me that it is worthy of adoption generally throughout the country.

The existence of the Council of Defense system, available at all times to the various departments and administrations of the Federal Government for the execution of their war work in the States, makes, of course, for economy of effort and renders unnecessary the creation of much local Federal machinery which otherwise would have to be set up at great expense for the performance of specific tasks. Unquestionably this system should be utilized as far as possible. Will you not, therefore, communicate to the heads of such departments and administrations in Washington my wish that when they are considering extensions of their organizations into a State, or new work to be done in the States, they determine carefully whether they can not make use of the Council of Defense system; and that they transmit all requests for action by this system through the Field Division of the Council of National Defense?

It is likewise apparent that the county and community units of the Council of Defense system are similarly of great present value and still greater potential value to the State representatives of those Federal departments and administrations. Would it not be advisable also to ask the department heads at Washington to recommend to their State representatives that each of them, in consultation with the State Councils of Defense should take the fullest advantage of this unique machinery for getting into contact with the people of the State, both men and women? I should be glad to have you say that such a request has my sincere indorsement and support. The organization of the country for war can attain its maximum effectiveness only if we all of us utilize to the utmost the resources we have in common.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

The effect of this letter was not only to give presidential indorsement to the work of women and recognition to the principle of vesting in the women some of the authority for planning work, but also to give presidential approval to the policy of using the State defense agencies as channels for reaching the people of the State with Federal programs.

The Field Division, therefore, planned a wide distribution of the letter to the heads of Federal departments in Washington. What its effect on the "channel theory" might have been, however, can not be known, since it was dated October 26, and the armistice was signed November 11. With that event the great need for both amalgamation and the one channel was removed. The future development of the Field Division, State Divisions, and State Councils, depended on conditions not yet known. Like the rest of the country, they waited to see what these conditions might be.

CHAPTER XII.

THE POST-ARMISTICE PERIOD.

The signing of the armistice wrought a great change in the position of the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee. All efforts toward amalgamation automatically ceased. Both State Divisions and State Councils became more absorbed with the problem of whether they should continue in any form than with the problem of reorganization. For the State Divisions this problem was a complicated one, not to be solved by its own desires. Whether a State Division had become amalgamated with the State Council or not, whether it was an auxiliary or merely a coworker, its future plans had in most cases become dependent upon the fortunes of the State Councils.

The situation was this: The State Divisions, like the State Councils, were war emergency bodies. They made the same appeal to the interest of the public and were alike dependent upon arousing this interest for success in their work. If, therefore, the State Councils announced the war emergency over and disbanded, the effect on the public would be such as to make the continuance of the State Divisions almost impossible. The dissolution of the State Council, the State's official war emergency body, was equivalent to an announcement by the State authorities that the war emergency had passed. A similar war emergency body, appealing to women, even though its work was not finished, would find it difficult, if not impossible, to pursuade the public to continue to support it. The continuance, then, of the State Divisions was largely dependent upon the continuance of the State Councils.

These State Councils, many of them, had been created by legislative act for the period of the war only. Many of them were composed of business men who had given freely of time and energies for war emergencies, but with the imminence of peace desired to return to their own pursuits. It must be remembered that the armistice did not come to America a complete surprise. Rumors of it had been spreading for weeks, and so weakened the morale of the defense organism that Secretary Lane telegraphed the State Councils and State Divisions a few days before the armistice:

> I earnestly beg you not to relax your efforts in the slightest degree on account of the possibility of an early armistice. Even if an armistice should be concluded this does not mean that the war is over and in any case the emer-

gency will not be over for a long time. Most of the work which you have been called on to perform must go on undiminished, and I hope every man and woman in the Council of Defense system will stay on the job. In a few days will write you as to the outlook for future work.

In spite of this message there was a tendency among the State Councils immediately following the signing of the armistice to consider the need for their existence at an end. On November 20 the Committee of Public Safety of Massachusetts resigned, leaving a committee of nine to wind up the work. About the same time the State Council of Rhode Island adjourned sine die. Three days after hostilities ceased, the Michigan War Preparedness Board announced that it was closing up business and asked its county boards to disband.

On the other hand, there were a number of State Councils willing to go on. It is probable that the majority would have continued had there been a definite piece of reconstruction work given them at once. There was no such piece of work ready. It can not be said that the problems of reconstruction had not been considered. Even before the signing of the armistice a reconstruction research staff had been organized by, and was reporting on this subject, to Mr. Clarkson, acting director of the council since the resignation of Mr. Gifford, in October. As director of the Field Division, Mr. Clarkson had prepared and took up vigorously with the council, a memorandum which set forth in detail the services the Council of Defense system might be called upon to render the Nation during the readjustment period. This memorandum called attention to the continuing importance of Americanization, highways transportation, food and fuel conservation, food production, child welfare, supervision of nonwar construction, housing, community organization, community singing, the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled men and other activities in which the council was engaged or in which it might engage.

Throughout the war there ran two currents of thought, almost side by side and often intermingling. One was a desire that the war machinery should be available after the war for reconstructing the social fabric and making America all that true Americanism might desire it, that the cooperative spirit developed under war needs might be salvaged, and that the country should profit from all it had spent of life, and substance; the other was a distinct fear that organizations built up for war needs might be perpetuated during peace times until they became a heavy incubus on the social structure, that the personal liberty yielded for the sake of national strength should not be returned, that Federal authority would usurp State control. With the imminence of peace the former hope and latter fear found expression in reconstruction plans advocated by different groups.

Steering its way between these views, the Council of Defense went on record November 29 by instructing Secretary Baker, as chairman

of the council, "to write to the President expressing the view that in general the problem of reconstruction was rather one of removing restrictions imposed during the progress of the war than of formulating any new policy, it being the thought of all present that American industry and commerce would readjust itself and undertake peace-time occupations as soon as the raw materials and labor of the country were available for such resumption.[1]" Meeting with the council were Mr. Baruch and Mr. Peek, of the War Industries Board; Dr. Garfield, of the Fuel Administration; Mr. Edgar Rickard, the Acting Food Administrator; and Mr. R. C. Leffingwell, representing the Treasury Department. Those present thought that the emergency agencies would be able rapidly to withdraw from their war work except the War Trade Board, which would continue to have important functions. The inference may be fairly drawn that the council believed emergency bodies should withdraw, as soon as their usefulness ceased, and this may be taken as the council's attitude at this time toward the continuance of the Field Division and the State Councils and State Divisions. The question of continuance seemed to resolve itself into one as to usefulness.

During the latter part of November and December a few bulletins went from the Field Division to the States recommending that the State Councils should assist the Federal Board for Vocational Training and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and that they should hold together and strengthen their legal committees which were to look after the civil rights of soldiers and sailors. The State Divisions of the Woman's Committee were asked to assist in a food conservation program. Both councils and divisions were asked to help the Federal health authorities in fighting the influenza epidemic, but these were not programs of work requiring the maintenance of extensive and intensive State machinery. On December 2, however, there appeared above the horizon a piece of work so big that its execution demanded the entire resources of the Nation. It was the immediate necessity of finding jobs for the returning and demobilized soldiers, sailors, and war workers. This was the particular task of the United States Employment Service, but since the undertaking was almost as huge as the operation of the draft, the Employment Service, like the War Department, besought the assistance of all war agencies which could help in its performance. The particular part of the work assigned to the Council of National Defense was that of urging employers in the local communities to provide the necessary jobs for their returning soldiers.

A complete plan had been drawn up by which all agencies interested in the welfare of soldiers were to cooperate, those in the camp, such as the Army, the Y. M. C. A., the War Camp Community

[1] From minutes of Council of National Defense.

Service, the Red Cross, connecting with the soldier before he was demobilized, to ascertain his training as to trade, his need and preference as to location; the agencies in the home community, such as the State Council, State Division, and the Red Cross, working to secure the job. The connection between these two terminals was to be made by the United States Employment Service. To the State Council was to be given the authority to organize a local board composed of all local agencies in the community whose work it would be to provide a local employment bureau for the soldier.

A meeting of the Council of National Defense was called and Mr. Clarkson presented to it this plan, and the request from the United States Employment Service for the cooperation of the State Councils. Mr. Clarkson pointed out to the council that this request for the aid of the State Councils brought up sharply the question whether or not the Council of Defense system should be continued for Federal purposes during the demobilization period. A long discussion followed, at the end of which the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, by the Council of National Defense, composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Commerce, Agriculture, and Labor, that the Council of Defense system, composed of State, county, community and municipal councils, and the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, be continued in the national interest for the purpose of cooperating with and supplementing Federal agencies in meeting the exigencies and emergencies incident to postwar readjustment, and especially for the purpose of bringing about a normal demobilization of soldiers, sailors, and war workers, to the end that they may most wisely be reabsorbed into peace-time pursuits; and be it further

Resolved, That to consummate this purpose the Council of National Defense recommends that it does hereby recommend to the several governors, State Councils, and State legislatures that all legislative acts creating State Councils or Committees of Public Safety be so amended where necessary as to make it possible for the Council of Defense system throughout the country to perform the foregoing functions so long as they shall appear to be necessary.

The State Councils and State Divisions were informed of the act of the council and were asked to carry out the plans, as requested by the United States Employment Service.

In spite of this one big task, it seemed apparent to the State Councils that their continuance on the ground of usefulness could not be justified, for they continued to go out of business.

To give the dates on which the several councils ceased to exist is not necessary. By May 1 the line of communication between the Field Division and the State Councils was entirely down, due to the fact that the receiving stations had gone out of business. Twenty State Councils had either adjourned or disbanded; 3 had paper organizations or were inactive; 8 had greatly reduced their force, although still in existence; 3 had turned their business over to new

agencies. Only 12 were really alive. Of course this did not occur all at once. It was a gradual process covering a period of nearly six months.

The Field Division meantime had been engaged in promoting the organization of what might be called its residuary legatee, by name the Community Council. Before the days of the Field Division, the terminals of the State Council system were known as Community Councils. When the Community Council idea was first promulgated both the State Council Section and the Woman's Committee urged upon State Councils and State Divisions that Community Councils be jointly organized in the communities. The organization of these had been promoted and stimulated through many bulletins to State Councils and to State Divisions of the Woman's Committee. The plan was the same as that provided by the Woman's Committee in forming its own local units, except that the Community Council was not limited to a federation of the organized and unorganized women of the community, but included every one in the community as well as all organizations. During January new bulletins were issued to the State Councils and State Divisions urging them to organize Community Councils in every neighborhood and giving specific directions for so doing. By means of these Community Councils in which all people would be reached and in which all would have representation it was hoped that some of the spirit of service that the war had roused might be salvaged for the benefit of the community.

In order to make these Community Councils permanent, State Councils were urged to secure State legislation to provide for the development of community organizations and for permanent State leadership to all organized communities. The creation by legislative act of a bureau or commission composed of representatives of those State departments, such as of agriculture, labor, and education, which come in most intimate contact with small communities, to stimulate the organization of the councils, to serve as a connecting link between these councils and the Federal departments at Washington, and to provide and transmit programs of health, education, and general welfare, was suggested.

At the same time the State Councils were deciding that they would not go on the State Divisions were facing their future. The situation of the two bodies was quite unlike. Many of the State Divisions felt that their work was just begun. Painstakingly they had built up a machine that reached the women of the remotest hamlet and, under the stimulus of patriotism, had undertaken elaborate programs of work. Since these programs were concerned with the preservation of the social fabric, since many of them grew out of an intention to improve social conditions, they seemed as essential and im-

portant in peace times as in war time. Dr. Shaw emphasized this point of view in her message to American women on November 25, a message that found a ready response among war workers:

The victory for which America has organized and labored, sacrificed, and borne is about to be ours. Although a period of months must elapse before the declaration of peace, the enemy is vanquished, and we may look forward to the end of the Great War as imminent.

Toward the accomplishment of this victory the women of America have contributed their part. Whether we were asked to save food, to enter industry in the places men had hitherto filled, to make bandages for the wounded, to sell and buy bonds, to give up husbands, brothers, and sons to the danger of death, or to cross the hazardous seas and stand beside them as nurses, we have responded by the thousands or hundred thousands as the call demanded.

We have done more. We have organized a great second army of defense to preserve the home, to care for the children, to protect women from the dangers of industry, with the avowed purpose of making the country for which our men have died worthy of their sacrifice. With this in mind, we taught thrift and economy to our people, we planned and carried out a program for Children's Year, we advocated proper standards for women in industry, we worked on health and educational problems.

This task is not finished with the imminence of victory, not even with victory itself. There remains the greater and more difficult part: To garner the fruits of victory. It is not enough for women who have given up their sons on the battle field that Alsace-Lorraine shall be given back to France; there must be given to other sons, or other mothers' sons, a chance to grow up well and strong here in America. It is not enough for widowed mothers that autocracy across the sea is dead; there must be freedom here at home for their daughters to win their daily bread under conditions that make for health and happiness and honor. The work of the women of America will not be done until the fruits of victory shall include the making of America a better, safer place for all children than it was before August, 1914.

This is not reconstruction; it is not even readjustment. There must be a measure of both, and both include problems in which women and their interests are a serious factor and in the solution of which they must have a voice. This is an intention that our sacrifices shall not have been in vain. It is a realization of the aim for which we made them.

In war time it was found that what had been called "women's interests," namely, food, thrift, health, morals, were the interests of a whole people and had an integral part in the organization for victory. It was also found that they were intimately tied up with the great financial, industrial programs. In peace times they will no less be the interests of the whole Nation, and in realization of war aims they have an important place. No peace that ignores them, no program that overlooks them, can claim to represent the aims for which we fought. It therefore becomes the duty of the womanhood of America to interest itself vitally in the terms of the peace and to prepare ourselves to perform our obligation to make the victory complete.

During the movement of a nation from a war basis to a peace basis great changes must inevitably take place, changes economic, industrial, social. No thinking person can expect that the change will be altogether back to a prewar basis. The women can be no more relieved from their obligation to see that these changes make for a richer heritage, healthier environment, and freer opportunity for their children than they were from their obligation, now faithfully performed, to see that their soldier sons had every protection, physical

and moral, thrown about them, both in the camp and on the firing line. They can not neglect their duty to the sons and daughters of the men who will not come back to them, nor can they meet the returning soldiers with anything less than an honest "We have done all we promised you."

For all these reasons it is imperative that there shall be no demobilization of the woman power of America. It must remain organized, equipped, and ready for action. We do not know the program that will be laid before us; we can not say what our part in it will be. We only know, in a general way, what some of the problems will be. There will be those things that women have ever held dear—the safeguarding of little children, the education of youth, the health of a people, and such great tasks as supplying to every willing worker a job and providing for the whole world food. But what we do know is, there can be no great performance in which women do not play a part.

Our present duty, then, is to emulate our brothers and sons in France. There the men wait with vigilance as keen as ever, ready to spring to action at the word of command, whether that word be to attack the enemy again or to garrison a vanquished foe. We, no more than they, are mustered out.

On the other hand, all the programs of work, even those purely social in value, had been put forward as war work. Their primary appeal to workers was that, in some way or other, they helped win the war. Now that the war was practically won, would it be possible to secure from the women the same response, would patriotism in the garb of social welfare, or reconstruction, make the same appeal as when dressed as a minion of Mars? An affirmative answer to this question was made doubtful by the disposition in some quarters to regard all war work as finished and to relax at once. In financing their undertakings, the State Divisions had depended upon the war appeal. Whether public contributions would be as liberal for a peace program, was a question. Many State Divisions were dependent upon their State Councils for support. The approaching dissolution of the latter affected the ability of the former to continue, even if they wished.

Yet, it is probable that all of these objections could have been met by those State Divisions desiring to go on with reconstruction work if they could have counted upon a definite program from the Field Division. This, as has been shown, the Field Division was in no position to give them, since the Government was putting forth no reconstruction program.

The situation in which the women found themselves was this: War work had opened up tremendous possibilities to women for public service. The organization of the Woman's Committee had interested and placed in such service, millions of women who had not hitherto been connected with public work. The State chairman of one State reported, for instance, that the largest women's organization in her State, prior to the war, had reached 12,000 women. The State Division of the Woman's Committee was able to reach 82,000. The leaders could not bear to think of losing the voluntary

service of these millions of women when there remained important work to be done for the public welfare in Americanization, for Child Welfare, and for Women in Industry. The question these women asked was this: If the Field Division goes out of existence, how can this energy and spirit be utilized for the country's benefit?

The same question had been asked, immediately after the signing of the armistice, by members of the Woman's Committee. This committee, it will be remembered, had not gone out of existence with the creation of the Field Division, but continued in its advisory function. This committee met on November 16, and again on the 22d, to consider what recommendations, if any, they should make, now that the armistice was declared. They considered the question of calling a conference of the chairmen of the State Divisions and of the presidents of the national women's organizations similar to the one held in May, 1918. It was finally determined to let the women in the States decide whether such a meeting should be held. The net result of the questionnaire sent out to the States was that, if the Government had a definite program it wished to place before the women, such a conference was desirable, but, lacking such a definite program, a conference was not necessary.

In the meantime an unofficial group of women had arranged to hold a Victory Conference in Washington on February 12, and the Woman's Committee invited such of its chairmen as were coming to Washington for that conference to meet with them informally on February 11. No action was taken at this meeting except that those present strongly recommended the community council idea and indorsed equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for women.

In the light of these postarmistice developments none of the State Divisions could expect to continue permanently as State Divisions. The question to be settled was as to the best way to make permanent their work. Such was the recommendation made to them by the Field Division. Fifteen of the State Divisions reported plans to this effect. In six States the divisions handed over a part at least of their work to a new agency. In some cases the divisions were instrumental in forming this new agency, as in Michigan where the State Division was asked to appoint the six women members to the State Reconstruction Commission. In Alabama the chairman of the State Division was made a member of the new body; in California the Food Chairman was placed on the State Committee on Readjustment. In two States the division was reorganized under a new name, going ahead as a voluntary organization. In Indiana it became the Woman's Chamber of Commerce; in Rhode Island, the Rhode Island Woman's Committee of Civic Welfare, which was financed by the governor to take up such lines of work as Child Welfare, Americanization, Women and Children in Industry. In six States the work was

handed over to different existing agencies. In some cases, these agencies are of a volunteer character, and in others official. Some of the earlier States to disband made provision for the continuation of part of their work. The Missouri Division went out of existence February 27, but its departments of Child Welfare and Patriotic Education have been maintained. Minnesota, though disbanded, plans to call a meeting of the State and local chairman every year in order to make plans for coordinating women's work.

In several States, besides those which had turned the local machinery over to the new agencies taking over the work of the State Divisions, plans have been made for making the local units permanent. Many of the divisions report efforts being made to form Community Councils as the final residuary legatee of both the endeavors and the spirit of the Woman's Committee. The most striking instance has been furnished by the Illinois State Division, which set up a committee of men and women to further the movement for community organization, engaged a State organizer, and backed the movement with funds and speakers. In Missouri the State Division has employed a field secretary to undertake this work. The Wisconsin Division, whose chairman so enthusiastically advocated Community Councils at the informal conference held in February has been successful in effecting some 350 councils. Local work is the last to be reported to the Washington office, but newspaper clippings would lead to the conclusion that in many parts of the country the local units have taken upon themselves the responsibility, to quote one of the Field Division's own bulletins, "of conserving to posterity the new unity which has been one of the most signal benefits conferred upon us by the war and which is a great stride," as President Wilson has said, in writing of community councils, "toward welding the Nation together as no nation of great size has ever been welded before." Many of the smaller Woman's Committee units, feeling their responsibility, established their local machinery upon a peace basis, sometimes as an independent woman's organization, sometimes in connection with an existing civic association of men.

While the State Divisions were making these plans, the Woman's Committee had been closing up its own affairs. Some time prior to February, 1919, the Resident Director had communicated to the chairman of the council, the desire of the committee to dissolve as soon as the need for its service had passed. The chairman of the council had thereupon requested that the committee remain until peace was consummated, or until it appeared that there was no further need of the committee. At a meeting of the Woman's Committee held February 12, its last meeting, as it happened, Dr. Shaw was instructed to write to the Secretary of War: "The Woman's Committee was appointed to serve for the duration of the war and as long

thereafter as the Council of National Defense may direct. In the opinion of the committee, their work is at an end, but at the request of the Secretary of War, the chairman of the council, the Woman's Committee holds itself subject to the call of the Council of National Defense, and herewith tenders its resignation to take effect when, in the judgment of the council, the services of the Woman's Committee may no longer be required."

This resignation, submitted to take effect at the pleasure of the council, was, on February 27, 1919, accepted by the President in the following letter:

The Secretary of War has presented to me your letter of February 17, setting forth a copy of the resolutions of the Woman's Committee tendering the resignations of its members and effecting the dissolution of the committee. This action, I understand, is taken because, in the opinion of the committee, its distinctive work is at an end, and so much as remains to be done is covered by the Field Division of the Council of National Defense. In accepting these resignations and consenting to the dissolution of the committee, it would be invidious to make any assessment of its work by way of comparison with that of any other agency organized in the great emergency through which the country has just passed. But surely you and the members of the committee must be confident that the women of America responded in this war with service and patriotic enthusiasm which were at once an invaluable aid to the Nation's cause and a wholesome demonstration of the solidarity of opinion and feeling among our people. In the midst of sacrifice the women of America found their consolation in service. The organization of this work was intrusted to many agencies of specialized kinds, but the centralization of the impulse was largely the work of the Woman's Committee.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the function the committee has served in being both a vast bureau for the dissemination of information, and itself a wellspring of inspiration and zeal. I beg you to accept for yourself and the members of the committee this expression of my deep appreciation of the service they have rendered the Nation.

In transmitting the President's letter to the Woman's Committee, the chairman of the Council of National Defense took occasion to express, both as chairman of the council and Secretary of War, his own valuation of their services, as follows:

The President has accepted the judgment of the Woman's Committee as to the conclusion of its work, and as the designation of the committee proceeded directly from the President his letter to you is, of course, the official recognition of the completion of your great task. I beg you to permit me, however, as chairman of the Council of National Defense, and if I may without confusion add as Secretary of War, to add my own word of appreciation of the committee's effective work. When we went into the war there were many agencies for the expression of opinion and the coordination of the energies of men. The great body of the women of the country, however, were not organized in any groups or associations which bore a direct relationship to the Government or to the emergencies which faced the people. Everywhere the voices of women mingled with those of men in asking that some authoritative direction be given to the impulse which moved them to help, and many sorts of societies began to

be organized which were local and special, but had no central object and no representative here in Washington to which they could all look for guidance and understanding. The Woman's Committee at once upon its organization became such an agency and representative. That there have been difficulties in establishing the work of the committee goes without saying. It was a new task and had to be conceived upon very large and yielding lines; but the result I think, may be viewed with both gratitude and enthusiasm.

No other national emergency will find us in the same situation. Landmarks have been set and we have discovered the capacity of women for organized and associated cooperation with the Government in the gravest problems of our national life, and the history of the war will undoubtedly contain permanent evidence both of the work done by the committee and the ground broken and prepared by it for future cultivation. How much all of this helped the Council of National Defense it would be impossible, briefly, to say. Indeed, the Council of National Defense during its war phase and aside from its peacetime functions was a curious agency—organizing and disappearing; creating and turning over to others the work which it had planned. To some extent the Woman's Committee partook of the character of the council, and the net result was a widespread and helpful association between men and women in practically all of the field of endeavor which went to make up the aggregate of our national strength of sentiment and action.

I beg you to convey to your associates on the committee some portion of the sentiment which I here express, which, in brief, is one of grateful appreciation.

Announcement of the resignation and its acceptance was formally made on March 15, 1919, and the Woman's Committee passed out of existence. For the State Divisions that were carrying on or closing up their business there yet remained a connection with Washington through the Field Division.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

In some foreign countries it is customary when an "Ouvre" has been finished to call together representatives of all the workers, together with representatives of the public and the Crown, in order that those responsible may make a report to that assemblage of the work undertaken, telling its purpose as well as its accomplishments. Such meetings are said to be very impressive, conducted as they are, in the picturesque but stately old-world fashion. In a country so immense as America, with so many people concerned in every large undertaking, such a custom could not take root. Loss of the personal touch is the penalty of "bigness." Certainly it would never have been possible to gather together in such a way those interested in the Woman's Committee. The women who were responsible simply for executing the work would fill the largest forum the world has ever built.

This history is the more prosaic, American way of making such a report. Its audience is composed of those who in any way contributed to that great experiment, called the Woman's Committee; its purpose to make available in another time of need the results of that experiment. It becomes necessary, therefore, to close this book with some comments as to the benefits gained. Otherwise this report might wrongly seem to be a mere chronicle of difficulties and adjustments. It is true much emphasis has been laid upon some of the difficulties that beset the committee; much of the story is devoted to adjustments; achievements are mentioned only incidentally, or to bring home a conclusion. This has seemed necessary in order that such difficulties may never occur again. If progress is the end, and not self-praise, handicaps must be recognized. It is only as handicaps that difficulties, conflicts, and disagreements have been mentioned, never as complaints. Even so, these handicaps have, in many instances, been acknowledged as unavoidable or inherent in the situation.

In all discussions of the development of the Woman's Committee it must be remembered that the primary purpose of the council in appointing the Woman's Committee was to coordinate and mobilize the women of the country for the winning of the war. The means the council used to accomplish this and its effects on women, their

status in government, are presented here because they are of interest and value, but it is important for the reader to differentiate between the means employed and their result; the end sought and its achievement.

The great need that faced the Government at the time the Woman's Committee was appointed was for an immediate and loyal support to the prosecution of the war and a wave of unselfish patriotism. The problem of the Government was to bring to the people the necessary information and to arouse such patriotism. To this task the Woman's Committee primarily addressed its efforts and in the accomplishment of it reached practically the entire womanhood of America. What the union of the women of the country into an immense sisterhood may mean to the country it is too soon to inquire. Undoubtedly the effects of such work must persist long after the work itself seems to have ceased. Just as the country waits to see what effect these 2,000,000 soldiers will have on its civic life when they return to it, so must one wonder what effect these women, organized, aroused, informed, and trained by the Woman's Committee will have on the civic life of to-morrow and the next day. Everyone realizes that the discipline of camp life, the strain and stress of the struggle, the daily facing of death and the knowledge gained of new countries and other peoples, must make some change in the man who has been in the American Expeditionary Forces. His idea of citizenship, his sense of values, his demands from his Government and of his Government will not be those of the older generation.

So one knows that the hard work done, the sacrifices made, the patriotism aroused, and the vistas opened up to the women by the war work, must make a change in women, but no one can say just what that change will be. One can only hope that when these two forces join hands, the men who fought and the women who worked, a new vision of democracy will result, finer than any that has yet been conceived. If there remain in the hearts and minds of women, from this experiment, a wider vision of their usefulness, a deeper appreciation of their abilities and a keener sense of their obligation to their Government, if there remain with the Government a wider vision of the interests of women and their place in government, a deeper appreciation of the work, abilities, and services of women, and a keener sense of their place in the counsels that arrange and plan and adopt policies, it is enough. Above and aside from what the country gained of actual contributions towards the prosecution of the war, women will have grown stronger and the Government will have become richer because of the appointment of the Woman's Committee. Into the war the country poured its treasure, both of

money and of life, asking no gain, but only that it might make safe all that America then had, of liberty and opportunity, freedom and equality. If the Woman's Committee has been able to bring to the country some further profit, if it has shown a better way to utilize one of the country's resources, made that better way easier for women, then well may it be said to have been an experiment worth while.

That the Government of the United States considers it worth while there is evidence. America has her way of voicing approval and commendation of services rendered.

In a small room in the State, War, and Navy Building, in Washington, there took place an event May 19, 1919, which typified this. Gathered in an informal group beneath the photographs of former Secretaries of War, and the silken flags of our Nation, were heads of Federal departments, men high in the councils of the Government, women leaders of women, women workers for the cause of women in politics and industry, and women workers themselves, the staff of the Woman's Committee.

Across the table from this group stood another, ranged in a semicircle. In this group were men back from France, who by their courage, endurance or wisdom had organized the fighting forces or kept them well, or fed them, or transported them, men who by their tireless service had stopped pestilence and conquered a disease—officers from the American Expeditionary Forces, about to receive the distinguished service medal. But the attention of the group across the table from them was not centered on these men with their grave faces showing the importance of this occasion to them. The men and the women present were looking at the figure at the end of the line, a woman, gray and slightly bent, in whose face was the strength of a warrior. The Secretary of War entered, attended by an aid. In a few simple words he explained what the order meant, and called the first name on his list, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. The only woman in the line stepped forward. The citation which prefaced the simple ceremony of pinning on her breast the insignia of this honor was read:

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. For especially meritorious and conspicuous services as chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. She coordinated the mobilization and organization of women throughout the country in every phase of war work, including the securing of women for some of the various branches of the Army.

On still another occasion, similar in setting and ceremony, the woman who had served the Woman's Committee and by this means her country, first as resident director and later as associate director of the Field Division, was similarly honored. The citation for which

Miss Hannah J. Patterson received the distinguished service medal was as follows:

Miss Hannah J. Patterson. For distinguished and meritorious service, in that she devoted herself throughout the whole period of the war to executive work of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, devoting herself with great ability and energy to the organization of the activities and interests of the women throughout the United States in the interest of the successful prosecution of the war and, by her efforts, contributed to the splendid cooperation on the part of the women of the country in the great national emergency.

By these two decorations was honored the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and through it the women of America. It in no way lessens the honor to these two women for their ability, zeal, and devotion that their decoration is the official recognition of the women whom they, as chairman and as resident director of the Woman's Committee, led throughout the Great War to the service of their country.

INDEX.

Agriculture, Department of 13, 20, 76, 77, 103, 104, 111
Allen, F. L 126
Americanization 85
Armistice 125, 132
Army School of Nursing 96
Atwater, Helen 75, 76, 77
Baker, Newton D., Secretary of War and chairman of Council of National Defense 17, 91, 117, 133, 140, 141, 145
  Foreward by 5
Baruch, B. M 134
Belgium, Elizabeth, Queen of 89
Berry, George L 122
Bissell, R. M 122
Blaine, Mrs. Emmons 28
Bowen, Mrs. Joseph T 47, 48, 107
Buehl, C. L 126
Bush, Mrs. B. F 107
Cable, Mrs. Herbert A 108
Callaway, Fuller 122
Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman 16, 30, 85
Census Bureau 20, 67
Child Welfare, Department of 20, 42, 80, 101, 126, 133
Children's Bureau 33, 34, 81, 111
Children's year 82, 83, 101
Civil Service Commission 92, 105, 111
Clarkson, Grosvenor B 16, 121, 122, 123, 133, 135
Commercial Economy Board 34, 91, 93, 111
Committee on public information 86, 111
Community councils 133, 136, 140
Community kitchens 104, 105
Connecticut plan 40, 111, 127
Cooperation with the States, section on 41, 42
Council of National Defense:
  Creation and functions of 14
  Early organization of 15, 20, 110, 112, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 133, 134, 135
County home demonstration agents 76
Courses of instruction 71
Cowles, Mrs. Josiah Evans 16, 80
Crane, Dr. Caroline Bartlett 40, 48, 107
Cravens, John S 126
Daughters of American Revolution 13
Distinguished service medal 145
Elizabeth, Queen of Belgium 89
Employment service 84, 134, 135

England, Mary, Queen of 90
Fairbanks, Mrs. C. W 30
Federal field secretary 129
Field, Mrs. Amy Walker 83
Field Division 121, 122, 125, 131, 133, 134, 136, 139, 142, 145
Field secretaries 129
Food administration 18, 20, 27, 28, 29, 38, 56, 59, 70, 76, 77, 103, 104, 111
Food drive 57, 63
Food production and home economics, department of 20, 75, 103, 126, 133
Franking privilege 129
Frysinger, Grace 126
Funk, Mrs. Antoinette 16, 19, 30, 31, 32
Garfield, H. A 134
General Federation of Women's Clubs 13
General Medical Board 94
General Munitions Board 15
Gifford, W. S 16, 26, 36, 133
Gold Star, organization of 91
Gompers, Samuel 29, 30
Green, Elizabeth 64
Halliday, Mrs. Edward 17
Harding, Mrs. Samuel B 126
Harriman, Mrs. J. Borden 29
Health and recreation department 20, 79, 101
Helene, Queen of Italy 90
Hinman, Mary Woods 79
Home and foreign relief department 75
Honorary committee 11, 12
Hoover, Herbert 27, 28, 38, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63
Housing 84
Hrbkova, Sarka B 107
Information department 64
Insull, Samuel B 116
Italy, Helene, Queen of 90
Labor, Department of 13, 29, 33, 83
Lamar, Mrs. Joseph R 16, 51, 76, 122
Lane, Franklin K 15, 116, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 132
Lathrop, Julia 20, 33, 80, 82
Leffingwell, R. C 134
Liberty loan committee 21, 30, 31, 32, 79, 111
Mack, Judge Julian 35
McAdoo, Mrs. W. G 30
McCormick, Elizabeth, memorial fund 101
McCormick, Mrs. Stanley J 16, 18, 75, 76, 122
Maintenance of existing social service agencies, Department of 20, 77, 101
Marie, Queen of Roumania 89
Martin, Mrs. J. Willis 107
Martin, Mrs. Martha Evans 85, 126
Mary, Queen of England 90
Medical Section, Council of National Defense 111
Moore, Mrs. Philip North 16, 18, 77, 79
Morgan, Mrs. Henry H 107
Motor Corps 13

Mourning brassard 91
National American Woman Suffrage Association 13, 16
National Council of Women 13, 24
National League for Women's Service 13, 29, 30
National Women's Liberty Loan Committee 31, 32
Negro women 106
Nelson, Alice Dunbar 106
Nestor, Agnes 16, 18, 83, 122
News, department of 87, 101, 126
Nims, Marion 87
Obenauer, Marie 29, 30
Patterson, Hannah J 16, 75, 122, 123, 146
Peek, George N 134
Peixotto, Dr. Jessica B 80, 82, 126
Perkins, Ina J. N 126
Peters, Ira Lowther 77
Poincare, Madame 90
Provost Marshal General 90
Public Health Service 94
Red Cross 18, 21, 22, 47, 73, 107, 135
Registration for service 20, 66, 73
Resident director 76, 87, 122
Resolution of May conference 114
Reynolds, D. M 126
Rickard, Edgar 134
Robinson, Henry M 122
Roumania, Marie, Queen of 89
Rutz-Rees, Caroline 107
Scapecchi, C 89
Shaw, Dr. Anna Howard 15, 16, 24, 27, 51, 62, 65, 90, 91, 95, 101, 113, 116, 122, 123, 124, 126, 137, 140, 145
Shelby, Gertrude Matthews 87
Sherwin, Belle 107
Shipping Board 93
Shoemaker, Mrs. Edward 107
Smith, Elliott D 126
State chairmen, conference of 113, 139
State councils of defense 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 61, 69, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138
State divisions 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 61, 69, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 142
Stockton, Mrs. Charles W 108
Sturges, Mrs. Rush 107
Surgeon General 94
Survey of cooked-food agencies 77
Tabor, Grace 77
Tarbell, Ida M 16, 18, 29, 87, 122, 126
Thayer, Mrs. Nathaniel 107

Truth teller series 85
United States Student Nurse Reserve 93, 94, 97
Van Kleeck, Mary 30, 83, 84
Vocational Training, Federal Board for 134
War Camp Community Service 134
War Industries Board 15, 134
War Risk Insurance 134
War Trade Board 134
War work for women, handbook 64
Wetmore, Maude 16, 75
Whitley, Mrs. Francis E 107
Wilkes, Alline T 87
Willard, Daniel 122
Wilson, Ruth 126
Wilson, Woodrow 112, 113, 116, 117, 130, 134, 141
Wilson, Mrs. Woodrow 113
Woman's Committee 9
  Roster of State and Territorial divisions 9, 10, 11
  Honorary committee 11, 12, 23
  Plan of organization 19, 20, 107
  Plan of work 18, 20, 28, 74
Women in industry, department of 20, 29, 30, 43, 83, 84, 102, 126
Wood, Mrs. Ira Couch 18, 26, 47
Winters, Mrs. T. G 49, 107
Woman's Land Army of America 70, 76, 104
Y. M. C. A 134
Y. W. C. A 107

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